

THE
DIARIES

— OF —

THREE SURGEONS OF PATNA
1763.

EDITED BY WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—1909.

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PREFACE.

Nearly fifty years ago, MR. TALBOYS WHITLEY called attention to the existence of these Diaries, and in 1878 he gave a few very meagre extracts from them in his *Early Records of British India*. Last year, guided by MR. TALBOYS WHITLEY'S *Report*, the old papers were searched out for me by the kind officials of the Imperial Record Department, and the Government of India most graciously accorded me permission to copy and publish them. It was only after the printing had been done, that I discovered that MR. H. BEVERIDGE had published Anderson's Diary in the *Calcutta Review* of October 1884, and Campbell's Diary and Fullarton's Relation in a subsequent number. But if, in view of this fact, the present publication loses the charm of novelty, I cannot but think it will be extremely useful. For, in the first place, back numbers of the *Calcutta Review* are not very easily procured, and, in the second, when I compared my printed text with that of MR. BEVERIDGE, I found that the document I was working at was a far better copy of the original than the one which MR. BEVERIDGE found among the Hastings' papers at the British Museum. Although the parallel columns I have made use of are not beautiful—and they have necessitated the use of small type,—it will be an advantage to the student to have the events of each day clearly before his eyes. Fullarton gives us a "Narration" not a "Diary": but I have thought it best to break up his paragraphs and to space them according to date.

MR. BEVERIDGE in his reproduction of the Diaries did not follow the writers' spelling of place and personal names; but, with all deference to so eminent a scholar, I have not followed MR. BEVERIDGE'S example in this respect.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

SHILLONG, ASSAM, July 23rd. 1909.

but this ambition was cut short by the patricidal war which broke out on the death of Aurangzeb in the course of which he met his death (171) by being swallowed up alive in a quicksand.² In 1600 the English at Surat pushed on their enterprise from Agra to Patna, where the Portuguese however had been first in the field but these early adventures lacked permanency and it is not till about 167 that we find anything like an established trade between the English and the place they called Patana or Patna or Patenna. Tavernier who with Bernier visited the city in 1666 writes "the Holland Company have a house there by reason of their trade in saltpetre which they refine at a great town called Champar (Chayra). Coming to Patna, we meet the Hollanders in the street returning from Champar who stopped our coach to salute us. We did not part till we had emptied two bottles of Shiraz wine in the open street, which is not taken notice of in that country where people meet with an entire freedom without any ceremony." About 1659 Job Charnock in the near future the founder of Calcutta, came to Patna, and in a residence of about twenty years, built up the saltpetre trade with such success, that the Company were able to discount the purchases on the West Coast and at Masulipatam. From the time, however of Charnock's removal, the trade languished under the constant oppression of the native authorities, and in 1715 the factory was abandoned, until it was re-established in 1718.

In the year 1701 the Emperor appointed as Diwan of Bengal one Mahomed Hadi, who, in origin, the son of a poor brahmin of the Deccan, had risen from the humble station of a assistant in the revenue department of the Diwan of the Deccan to be Diwan of Hyderabad. Mahomed Hadi, now become Mirshad Kuli Khan was not long in incurring the wrath of the Viceroy Azim-us-shan and in consequence departed from Dacca for Murshidabad which now in his honour bore his name—Murshidabad. It was to the name established by Mirshad Kuli Khan that Ali Verdi Khan, Suraj-ud-daula, Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim in turn succeeded. In 1719 the subah of Bihar was transferred to the Nawab of Bengal, and, as the administrative Court of the Emperors had now become a thing of the past, it was in future with the Rules of Murshidabad that the English factors had to deal.

The times were wild ones with and rumours of wars incessant alarms of Mahrattas and Afghan hordes seldom absent the reality seldom falling short of the disclosures of the reports. In 1741 the great Nawab Ali Verdi Khan, who in the previous year had defeated and dethroned the Nawab Sarfaraz Khan (Mirshad Kuli Khan's grandson), rebuilt the fortifications of Patna, making the city a place of refuge for all who sought shelter from the pillaging Mahrattas. Five years after this, Mir Jafar Khan, the Afghan general, revolted, and laid siege to Patna. A vast number therefore of pioneers and labourers was sent for from all parts of the province an entrenchment was soon thrown up that encompassed all the ground between the tower of Jafar Khan's garden and the dyke a wall raised for the security of the suburbs against the waters of a neighbouring lake a deep ditch was added to the entrenchment and the earth dug from it served to form a very good rampart without need of any mortar or brick work. Mir Jafar Khan's attempt failed, and the leader falling into the hands of his conquerors, his quarters lately was being triumphantly on the four gates of Patna city.

In 1767 Hajji Ebansah, the Mirbati Chief in alliance with the turbulent Afghans, fled before the arms of Ali Verdi Khan, leaving behind him "country totally ruined." But the great Nawab was to find by bitter experience that a more serious foe was to be his in the person of the British. His son-in-law and nephew at Patna in 1764 entered into an alliance with the British against the

2. Bengal District Gazetteers Vol. VII, Part II, p. 24.

3. Bengal District Gazetteers Vol. VII, Part II, p. 24. The Founder of Calcutta. The first English factory was built in the year 1690 at Surat.

4. Mirshad Kuli Khan. The Journal of Murshidabad p. 71.

of Darbhanga, but Zain-ud-din was doomed to perish at the hands of his faithless allies. His wife Amina Begum, Ali Vardi Khan's daughter, was "for seventeen days forced to listen to the cries of her father-in-law, tortured by every horrible device known to Oriental cruelty, to reveal the place where his treasure lay hid. Then for well nigh a year she spent anxious days a prisoner in the enemy's camp, waiting for the approach of her father's army that hurried along the way. Rescued at last, she returned with Ali Vardi Khan to Murshidabad, and there for seven years set all her hopes upon her son Suraj-ud-daulah, scheming to secure for him the kingdom on her father's death." The pictures drawn of Patna in that awful year 1748 recall to remembrance that terrible description of our own mother land in the days of King Stephen, when men said openly "that Christ and his saints slept." "The insurgents" sacked the city and its suburbs, looted treasures, dishonored women and children, and desolated a whole world" so writes the author of the *Rivaz-u-Salat*. At Kali Sarai, near where stands the present railway station at Patna, Ali Vardi Khan crushed the revolt effectually, but only to find that his grandson, whom he had petted and spoiled, had risen in revolt, and made a futile attempt to seize Patna.

Previous to Suraj-ud-daulah's march on Calcutta, the English had abandoned their factory at Patna, and the French had established themselves there in full strength. For the story of Monsr Law's retreat from Murshidabad to Patna, the reader must be referred to Mr S C Hill's *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*. In July 1757 Mr Pearkes re-opened the English Factory at Patna. It may be said that after the event of Plassey, Patna is once again the pivot round which the history of the times revolves.

2 MILITARY EVENTS, 1757—1761

At the time of the defeat and assassination of Suraj-ud-daula the Governor of Patna was a Hindu officer, Ramnarain by name, who owing his power and advancement to Ali Vardi Khan, was by the strongest ties of gratitude committed to the cause of the ill-fated Nawab Suraj-ud-daula. Ramnarain who was, as Mr Hill says "no lover of Mir Jafar, and was not yet acquainted with Clive," allowed Law, the fugitive French Chief of Cosimbabar, to pass Patna and escape into the province of Oudh. Forcing his way with the greatest difficulty, Coote, who had taken charge of the expedition, which Clive himself had at first intended to command, followed with it success on the track of the fugitive French. The story of Coote's transactions is an exceedingly interesting one but we cannot pause to trace it even in the barest outline in this place. Law made good his escape and Coote, who at one time had thought of capturing the citadel of Patna by force of arms from Ramnarain, in the end came to an understanding—the latter swearing fealty to Mir Jafar, on the express promise of an English guarantee for his honour, safety, and position. It was no doubt the consideration of this solemn recognition which made Coote so resolute, and Carnac also in opposing Vansittart's policy in regard to Ramnarain. In February 1758, Clive and his army marched through Patna, and encamped at "the Company's gardens" at Bankipur. It would require more space than can be here afforded to detail the intrigues and counter-intrigues. In the end, the Nawab appointed his son Mir Miran to the Government of Patna—"a mere honorary appointment which gave him a claim to certain presents or fees," and Ramnarain (who however paid a sum of 7 lakhs) was installed as Nizam-ul-Mulk, the actual Governor of the Province. Clive next devoted his attention to securing for the Company the farm of the revenues on the all important saltpetre commerce. He then set to work to raise a third battalion of Europeans—a corps, afterwards commanded by Captain Turner, the destruction of which in 1767 is a part of the present story. On May the 27th Clive left Patna, and (as Bayly stated in 1822) Nawab's father-in-law undertook on behalf of the safety of Ramnarain.

In 160 fresh troubles came in view. At the invitation of some rebellious zemindars and military officers, the Mogul Prince Al Gohar made his appearance on the scene. On his way southward, we reached him of the death of his father and he at once assumed the title of Emperor and the name of Shah Alam. Clive who left Bengal for England on the 31st February 160 in the previous December had despatched Mr. Clive with a small army to meet the invader. But Shah Alam reached Patna before Calcutta, and on February 9th, Ramnarain marched out of Patna to meet the enemy. The story of the battle in "the plain of Mussempore" has been well told by Broome. It is the story of the retreat that concerns us because it introduces to us in the most favourable light the man who was to be one of the very few survivors from Mir Kasim's clutches in 163—"Surgeon William Fullarton. The English forces whose orders confined them to the protection of Ramnarain were but some 600 or 800 men. Ramnarain, who had his ghilly declined to remain with the English finding the battle against him unequalled to Captain Cochrane the English Commander to send him support, and Cochrane at once marched with four companies of sepoy to the Raja's support. Let Broome continue the story—

"This untimely destruction of the English force and its destruction the party der Captain Cochran forced the way to the Rajah and forced the retreat to be attacked on all sides they were overwhelmed by numbers, and the only three officers present, Captain Cochran, Ensign W. Lebeck and Mr. Darwell, who served as a volunteer were slain theajah now left without a leader was discouraged, and Hamph. K. C. trying making a deeper to run charged in upon them and the whole party were cut to pieces—1 sergeant and 10 soldiers succeeding in fighting their way back to the European detachment. These last supported by the other Companies of theajah had also been severely assailed, but continued to hold their ground the officers left in charge of the infantry as well as the artillery in command of the artillery who appears to have been Lieutenant Blackwer both killed the only European officer survivor was Dr. W. H. Barton, the Surgeon of the Agency who assumed the command finding that the day was completely lost the little party commenced the retreat to the city hurried on by the enemy but by the coolness and steadiness of the conduct keeping the latter at a respectful distance. One of the gun carriages having broken down, they were compelled to spike it and leave it on the field, but the tumbrils of the other having escaped, Dr. F. Barton hurried the party steadily sighted it and then resumed the march by the rear and a large detachment this remnant of the party secured a making good the retreat to the town." (Page 9.)

[illegible][illegible]

disapprobation of the late revolution? In replying to this minute the Governor dealt out hard measures to Ellis.

"That Mr Smyth should subscribe to this opinion is not to be wondered at because he subscribed to one of the like nature of Mr Verelst, in consultation of the 8th November without having read any of the proceedings but that Mr Ellis should subscribe to it, after signing his approbation of the measures in many letters which have been written on the subject and particularly one from the Select Committee to the Governor and Colonel Clive, dated the 4th of November a somewhat surprising and gives fresh reason to apprehend, what has long been suspected, that other persons, not in the Company's service nor having any regard for the Company are consulted upon affairs which do not belong to them by which unfortunately they gain an ascendancy over the minds of better men than themselves and this authority they exert to the utmost to the purpose of making divisions in the settlement and more particularly in the Council. It is only such persons as those that can reflect upon the late measures, as a breach of fidelity, honour and divine precept which nothings can merit, but a premeditated intention to do some great ill."

To this Ellis replied, on January 11th, 1781. His previous utterances were but "a complimentary concealment" but "his sentiments with regard to the revolution have never altered, nor have they been kept a secret. The reflection of being influenced in his opinion by others though not of so good a turn of mind as himself: a compliment to his morals, at the expense of his capacity which being merely personal, and quite foreign to the subject in hand, might well have been spared and in answer thereto, he only wishes, for the good of this settlement, others in power were little influenced in the management of public affairs, by the opinion of those about them."

Vansittart in his *Variorum* suggests that the original cause of Ellis's disaffection was due to the fact that, on his return from England, Ellis had claimed the chief post of the town, to which Mr McCulloch had been appointed some time before—a claim Vansittart considered to be unreasonable. Major Carnac had also been violently offended at my expressing a desire that Colonel Caillaud who had been present at all the debates of the Secret Committee and had been particularly charged with the execution of their resolutions, should remain in command at Fort St. George till their views were fulfilled." (Vol. I p. 160).

4 THE OPPOSITION OF COL FARE COOT AND MAJOR CARNAC TO THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNOR

The rule of Mr. Hastings, at its start, was full of bright promises, and a fact he was able to procure so large a sum for the support of the service, that the Government at Calcutta were able to remit two and half lakhs to Madras which sum arrived at that place "very opportunely for service of the army before Pondichery. In the mean while Carnac's successes against the

3 Vansittart *A History of the Transactions of the Council of Fort St. George* (1784) Vol. I p. 174 (see also Original Paper Vol. I, pp. 174-175). The statement given as to the secret of the council of the province of Madras is not true. It is a very imaginary statement. The real grounds for sending the money were given by the Council in the *Journal of the Council of Fort St. George* and it is interesting to compare them with those given by Vansittart and me.

4 It had written on October 21st 1780 to the Governor. It is with much pleasure I show of tranquillity in the city and beyond me with all the disorders which have happened, and I dare say that the nothing was as you said, to place this statement, on the other side of the balance. Vansittart's statement referred to in the original paper Vol. I, p. 174 is based on the fact that the town had not been over-run. It is not the reason that the "state of the country required security and that is precisely the object of such measures that the Council of Fort St. George have thought proper to appoint a Select Committee to report on the state of the country." The Council of Calcutta.

Shahzada, and Captain White's against the rebellious Raja of Beerbhoom had in some measure brought peace to the troubled country. But a new cause of distraction was almost at once found in the person of Ramnarain, who, as we have seen, had been intrusted with the Governorship of Patna by the deposed Nawab, and who, being on unfriendly terms with the new Nawab, looked to the English for protection. Caillaud, having been ordered to Pondichery, the Military Command at Patna fell on Carnac, and however much he may have been influenced by the pique Vansittart ascribes to him, it is clear that the Major was prepared to resent any deviation from what he too regarded as policy of his great military chief, Lord Clive. Caillaud had been instructed by the Select Committee to extend his protection to Ramnarain in case of the Nabob's making any attempt against the person or honour of the latter. On February 9th, 1761 the Select Committee informed Carnac

"We believe such an injunction at this time unnecessary, as the present Nabob seems to be well inclined towards Ramnarain," but they at the same time confirmed their resolution "to have the same regard to the former engagements in his favour." "As to Rajebullab," they continued, "we can have no reasonable objection to a fair examination of his accounts by the Nabob, or such person as he shall appoint, that a just statement being made of all the monies he has received, for defraying the charges of the troops under his command, together with a due enquiry of what number of troops have really been kept up, and how much every one has been paid the balance that has been found due may then be discharged, and Rajebullab be employed again, as the Nabob thinks proper. Thus the Nabob declares is all that he asks, and in this (as it is just and reasonable) you will yield to him all the necessary assistance."

To these instructions the Major replied, on February 24th, in a letter which Vansittart in his *Narrative* characterises in severe terms—"unbecoming and arrogant," "vanity and intemperance," "prejudices which he had entertained against the Nabob." The letter is as follows:

"You may depend upon my giving the Nabob all the assistance in my power, to settle everything in the province in the best manner, I will also very readily lend my assistance in adjusting the payment of that part of the troops under Rajebullab, as far as he means to act fairly by them, but should he expect any support from me in acts of injustice, he will be much mistaken. The English forces, which I have the honour of commanding, shall never be employed as instruments of violence and oppression."

"Your directions, in regard to Ramnarain, shall be religiously observed. I could not have received any order from you with more pleasure than this of protecting a person, for whom I know Colonel Clive had a peculiar regard, and who himself deserves much at the hands of the English, on account of the attachment he has all along shown them, however ill he might be disposed to the Nabob."

Early in March, the Nabob and the Major met at Belantpore. It is impossible to read Mir Kasim's correspondence without being struck by his very considerable skill as a letter-writer, and his ability in putting forth an *ex parte* statement of his own case in which nearly everything, but the essential points, receive more than adequate notice. If Mir Kasim were to be judged on the merits of his letters only, we should at least have a speaking regard for him. It will be well to place the Nabob's and the Major's account of what took place at Belantpore in parallel columns. It will be seen that the former supposes the former of the two to be the real cause of the withdrawal of Ramnarain and Rajebullab from the service of the Nabob, and that the latter

Carnac's Letter — March 6 1761

The Nawab's Letter received March 13 1761

The Nabab continues encamped at Bykunt-pore, about six or seven coss off where I have waited upon him whatever good qualities he may have courage is not one of them he betrays a most shameful fear of the Shahzada, though the unhappy Prince is reduced so low as to be much more an object of pity than of fear Not thinking himself sufficiently secure with the large force he brought up with him he sent for without acquainting me both Ramnarain and Rajebullab with their forces, whom I had directed to remain in Camgar Cawn's country with a detachment from our army under the command of Captain Champion I no sooner heard of this but recalled Captain Champion likewise which has given the Nabab great offence so great, that he asked me in the publick Durbar whether I would comply with the contents of the letter he brought me from the President. I answered that I would, as far as I was well persuaded that Mr Vansittart expected from me who did not mean that I was to pay an implicit obedience I further told him that the direction of the English forces was left with me and that it was not reasonable any part of them should remain in country with which they were wholly unacquainted, after he had withdrawn his own people I have however to his own request, ordered Captain Champion's detachment to halt awhile at Dehar but had call them in entirely unless he sends out a body of his own troops to act in conjunction with them; the neglect wherof will infallibly bring Camgar Cawn out of his hills again.

On the 26th of Rajah, I arrived at Bykunt-pore where I had the pleasure of meeting Major Carnac Maharajah Ramnarain, and Maharajah Rajebullab. Among other things the Major told me that he had sent for the troops which were at Gamty in the zemindarree of Camgar Cawn. I replied that to chastize Camgar Cawn was no difficult matter but that it was not proper to recall the troops, belonging to the Company and myself in so much haste from the place where they were stationed This he did not consent to do but replied that he would certainly send for his English troops I delivered your letter to him When he perused it he said that Mr Vansittart is two hundred coss from hence, and that he would do whatever he thought advisable I was persuaded that he would have acted according to your directions, and did not imagine that he would have given me such an answer The Nabab next asked me whether I looked upon him as Subahdar of the provinces, and was willing to arrest him as such In answer to which I plainly told him, I would give him all the assistance I could, confident with honour and justice that further I would not do for him or any man. The very question gave me room to suspect he has some unreasonable demands to make if me; should this be the case he will undergo the mortification of a denial. I parted from the Nabab yesterday evening We were both you will judge pretty much dissatisfied with each other he with me for speaking my mind so freely to him a thing very unprecedented in this country; and I with him for the delays and obstructions he is likely to cause to our military operations.

Vansittart, in his *Narrative* (166) talks of "the slight which the Major put upon the Nabab at this interview" & that a letter of the Select Committee (Vansittart, Amyatt Esq and Fremont) while deciding any such business by letter on the Major and the Nabab, censures the latter's conduct in sending for Ramnarain and Rajebullab as "a very imprudent step and much to be blamed." While asserting that "the disposition of the army and the determination on all

military matters should rest with our commanding officer," the Committee laid it down that "in everything respecting the regulation of the country and the collection of the revenues," the Major subject to more urgent considerations (e g, the safety of the troops), should be guided by the Nawab "We think," they added, "this distinction is sufficiently clear, and flatter ourselves that no disputes can hereafter arise"^o In this expectation they were destined to be sadly and completely disappointed

A few weeks after at this interview at Bykuntipore, Colonel Coote arrived at Calcutta, and on April 22nd he set out to assume the command of the army at Patna His instructions from the Select Committee, dated the day previous, read as follows

"We are advised by Major Carnac, that there is a difference between the Nabab and Ramnarain, relative to the accounts of the Patna province We hope this may be amicably and reasonably adjusted, and request that you will give your assistance towards it as much as possible As Ramnarain has been remarkably steady in his allegiance with the Company, and received from Colonel Clive particular assurances of his protection with respect to his person, fortune, and government, we recommend you to secure him against all attempts of oppression or injustice, and further that the Government of Patna be preserved for him, if it is his inclination to continue in it It is needless for us to add, that it will be far more agreeable to all parties, if that can be done by representing to the Nabab the obligations we are under to Ramnarain, and preventing by that means the necessity of any forcible means"

On May the 8th, Carnac, in consequence of Coote's arrival, wrote to the Select Committee expressing a desire to be allowed to return to Calcutta with a view to proceeding to England, but on Coote's arrival at Calcutta, the Major finding the views of his superior officer were coincident with his own, postponed his intended departure I must pass as rapidly as possible over the events which occurred between Coote's arrival at Patna, and the recall of Coote and Carnac It is somewhat important, however, to notice that McGuire, the Company's Chief at Patna, plays a very minor part on every occasion of importance, but that his sympathies were on the whole cast on the side of the Nawab Passing over many materials of lesser importance, we come to a letter from the Nawab to the Governor, dated June 16th 1761

Since the arrival of Colonel Coote, agreeably to your directions, esteeming his will worthy of my principal attention, and regarding our mutual friendship, I have never been deficient in acting agreeably thereto After his arrival here, he spoke to me in the following manner concerning the King's affairs, "that as long as I should remain here, I should consent to allow him a lakh of rupees monthly for his expenses, and that when he should go to Delhi, I should consent to disburse him with twelve lacks of rupees and a few troops" These articles, for the Colonel's satisfaction, I was under a necessity of consenting to, and I went to his Majesty, and told him I would be answerable for these conditions, but he would not consent to it Afterwards the Colonel directed me to pay, he does what I before gave him, fifty thousand rupees Agreeable, therefore, to the Colonel's desire, I gave him the said sum by the means of Maharrish Ramnarain, besides what I paid before His Majesty made no stay here, but did march to proceed to Delhi, and he won his share in this war When his Majesty was departing, he took the Colonel concerning the situation of the Sanahis, but he was not satisfied and forbade me I was under the necessity of writing him in his place and deferred it as he mentioned it again Roy Shitagon, who is appointed for the command of the Sanahis, is a

court, always endeavoured to throw things into confusion. I frequently desired the Colonel to dismiss him as an incendiary and appoint another in his place, but he would not listen to it. Ever since the Colonel came here to this time I have regarded what he said and directed as of the greatest consequence, making it a principal point to establish a friendship between us, and to gain his affection. According to the rules of friendship, I have observed all the customs and forms in entertainments of eating and reciprocal visits more attentively and more heartily with him than I ever did with any other person. In every respect, I have done everything to please and satisfy him, and entered into mutual engagements with him notwithstanding which behaviour he has not consented to a single thing I have requested of him. Agreeable to what you wrote to me concerning Mir Bahajah Ramnara's affairs, I spoke to the Colonel, and, at his recommendation, appointed Maharajah Rajkull to examine the accounts. Gohar Ali Cawn and the said Maharajah went backwards and forwards to the Kella for fifteen or sixteen days together but Ramnara neither gave them a single paper nor a writer to attend them. Afterwards the Colonel came and said to me "We Europeans do not understand the country accounts; I will send the Maharajah Ramnara to you, he shall not be dismissed, but you may examine the accounts yourself." This I would not consent to nevertheless, the next day he sent him to me, contrary to my will, with Mir Watta. Since that day to the present moment, he (Ramnara) retroacts the time in going backwards and forwards, and fixing the time for preparing his papers, but he has not produced a single cowry nor delivered over a rupee worth of the country though I have complained, no one would listen to me nor give me redress. Ever since my arrival here, the English seapoys have been stationed at the gates of the city and would not permit my people to pass and repass. Mr McGuire being somewhat indisposed, I went to see him at the factory; and from thence I went to the Colonel, and sat down and conversed with him. He declared that on Tuesday the 1st of Zeeada, I would go to the Kella, and on Friday the 15th, cause the Coontha to be read, and decrees to be struck in the name of his Majesty. This I agreed to do and returned home. When the officers of my troops heard that I was going into the Kella, they represented that they should have frequent occasion to come to me, in order to lay their requests and petitions before me; and that till the seapoys, etc. were taken off, they could not pass and repass without interruption. That when Meer Mahomed Jaffer Ali Cawn, and Nafir-ool-Moolk deceased, resided in the Kella, the seapoy guards were not upon the gates; and that until they were taken off they should not be able to pass consider that the seapoys were men of low position frequently opposing men of credit in passing and presenting their papers to them, and that many of my people were grieved and angry so that disputes and quarrels and disturbances be created, I therefore wrote a letter to the Colonel, requesting he would take off the seapoys from the gates, and then I would go into the Kella. Upon the receipt of this letter which went and no more than what I have here mentioned, the Colonel was very angry and flew into such passion that he said he would send for the King again, and told Gohar Ali Cawn, who was then present that he would not take the guards off the gates, and that I might send troops to drive them off. Some days the Colonel returned here he has declared to me that I must comply with everything that he shall recommend; and accordingly he has not told me in person, and by message brought by Mir Watta.

14. North Watta—a son of Watta he had married on the secret agreement with Mir Jafar before Plassey his mother—the famous Chavotta lady afterwards known as the "Begum Johnson."

and Sheik Comaul, that "I must appoint Nundcoomar to the Foujedaree¹¹ of Hooghly, give the government of Poornen to the son of Aly Cooley Cawn, restore Maruffier Aly (who plundered Masir ol-Moolk's jewels to the amount of eight laths of rupees) to the Zemindaree of Carrackpoor, restore Cangur Cawn to the Zemindaree of Mey, and regulate the Zemindarrees of Radshty and Dinagepore, according to his pleasure¹²

Though I desired the Colonel to appoint a mutfarddee¹⁵ to examine the accounts of my eight months' government, and let me free he would not listen to it All my hopes of reliance are on your friendship and attachments to your engagements This is the only consolation I have under my present afflictions, it is the dependence that I have upon your word that keeps me alive, without this, it would be impossible to survive them. My hopes were, from the revenues of this province to pay my debt to the Company and reduce the number of my forces, but nothing is yet done, I apprehend the scapoys will assemble, as in Meer Jafar Aly Cawn's time, and put my life in danger, and bring shame and dishonour upon my family In the eight months of my government, I have scarce had leisure to drink a little water I have not had a minute's time to eat or enjoy sleep The four months that I have been here, involved in troubles, I have not enjoyed the least happiness, except in the confidence I have in your friendship My shame and dishonour are completed, and I have no one to complain to but you, I hope you will speedily write me in what manner I can extricate myself from these difficulties, and establish my credit and reputation Every particular of what I have now wrote has befallen me, God is my witness, and Mr McGuire is acquainted with every circumstance I am sorry that you, who are my patron and the partaker of my afflictions, should at this time be at such a distance, and that so much time should be taken up in writing and receiving letters The rains are come on, and the scapoys' wages daily increase The affairs of the country fall every day into greater confusion, and everything contributes to make my life a burthen to me, my hopes are in your favour, for God's sake make no delay, if you do, my affairs

11 Fonjedari [Phauedari] The office of the native chief Magistrate of a large district called a Chukla.

12 To these charges, Coote replied (July 17th 1711): "The Nawab further accuses me of having so favoured to oblige him to make up matters with Comgar Cawn and the Carrackpoor Raseah. I declare, I never mentioned them to him in any other light than that, if he could not by any means take them, to make up matters with them; and that I particularly refused to see their backels, and never had any correspondence with them. But I wrote two letters, which I wrote them by the Nawab's desire, copies of which have been transmitted to the President. With regard to the Dinagapore people, I was petitioned by the sons of the late Rajah (whose mother had been taken from him) by the Nawab after taking a ransom of ten lacks of rupees) requesting that I would speak with the Nawab on their behalf and deliver their petition to him, which was all the part I acted in that affair. With respect to the Rajah of Madalay, Mr. Coote desired I would in leave to serve him with the Nawab as he had been desired by the Rovrovan, and his estate taken from him. I accordingly refused to let him come into the city, and a resolution that poor unhappy man (though seventy years of age) has been taken by the heels, a little great with fatigue almost to death. This shocking piece of crime is not being done in the city. He was put in a room and in that situation till Mr. Laton, through his humanity with difficulty by a letter, got him freed from his shackles; but the poor old man still continues a prisoner. As to three Kellies, I never went to him to the Nawab, nor has any body done it by authority from me. The only person who interested myself was the unhappy brother of Meer Jaffer, with whom I was formerly acquainted, and who I find in my report to Patna, at Lagmand, starting with a large family. I begged the Nawab would not confer on a black man him 1600 rupees per month chiefly through the interest of his brother who by my report was put in prison or that criminal; but that poor man has not profited by this in the least; and yet the Nawab has ordered his rupees. As there was a report spread that the butchers of Hircly was to be put to death, the Nawab sent me to a private discourse with special orders that if the Nawab would give to that party of the Nawab the right means of killing a poor gentleman, whose friends were his acquaintance, and that it was really killed from a friendly view towards the Nawab. I executed the order, and I find that the Nawab was really killed that the old man, whose presence from the nation was to be desired, was killed the fatal of Hircly sent down to the lake. To account for all this matter, I added the following to the report of the Nawab: "The Duke of Jaffer Ally Cawn who managed the army of the Nawab, was the cause of the death of the poor gentleman. He was a noble man, and was intended to be the lord of the general officers, may be, as it is the case of the Nawab, and the Nawab's officers and chief servants were of the same."

18. William Lee, Investigator of the FBI, who has charge of records, advised that the G-1 was not at the time of the arrest.

are utterly ruined. Now this remains, that you, who are concerned in my welfare come here yourself or send for me to relate my sorrows to you

[In the Nawab's own hand]

All affairs here are at an end and the ruinous situation of my affairs at this place has rendered my case desperate. I have wrote to you every particular. I hope from your benevolence that you will consider every syllable and speedily redress my complaints.¹

This letter exaggerated as are its terms, and inaccurate as to its statements of fact at least serves to show that the Nawab was under the gloomiest apprehension as to his situation.

Although the Mogul Empire had long since ceased to be a power yet its continued existence was now and for many years to come threatened on a wall from which the whole chain of jurisdiction in India depended. Mir Jafar had received the Mogul's sunnud, but Mir Kasim was still without that credential then deemed so essential to the constitutional exercise of rule. Bitterly the Nawab complained that the Colonel stood in his way and prevented his obtaining the desired "sunnud for the subahdaree."

Things were ripe for a crisis. It has been seen that the Colonel had requested the Nawab to come into the Fort, and cause the Cootba to be read, and the success struck in the name of His Majesty. In a letter dated June 15th, the Nawab informed Coots that he had fully resolved to comply with the requisition, but that, as his "Rissaldars and Jemmatdars" resented the continuance of low caste seapoys (Telungas) at the gates, they refused to accompany him, and that he himself therefore was unable to enter the Fort. The letter in itself and the manner in which it was sent caused some surprise to the Colonel, and the more so when it was discovered that the Nawab had been in consultation with his officers, and that the guard on the Nawab's camp had been doubled. On the night of the 16th when Colonel Coots made an entertainment for the Dutch and was making merry and his "guard" were stationed all around the hilla, came an alarm—originating so Mir Kasim asserted, and Mr. G. is believed from Rampur—that the Nawab intended to attack the city. It will be well to place Coots and Mir Kasim's account of what took place in parallel columns.

COOTS

MIR KASIM

On the 10th of June in the evening having had different reports brought me concerning the Nawab's proceedings, I told Captain Lister I intended paying him a visit next morning to endeavour to settle matters with him and at supper time desired that gentleman to order the troopers and my usual attendants to be ready a little after daylight. About a quarter of twelve next morning I set out from my quarters to the Nawab's (which about two miles) with about twenty-four European Cavalry and one Company of sepoys, which I joined, at that time to a few number than usually attended me when I went upon hill and I sent Mr. Watts on before to let the Nawab know I was coming on to wait on him. By the time I arrived at his tent it

About 12 at night, Maharrajah Ramnarain collected his people together and sent word to the Colonel that I had got my troops in readiness to attack the hilla in the morning and that I would spare neither of them. The Colonel, being deceived by the snare got his people ready. My Hurrara brought me intelligence of it, but I gave no credit to it. This morning Mr. Watts entered my private apartment, which is near the Zarnana, calling out "Where is the Nawab?" and the toft. After him Colonel Coots in a great passion with his horsemen, peons, sepoys and others, with cocked pistols in each hand, came swarming into my tent. It so happened that I was asleep in the Zarnana, and none of my guards were present. How shall I express the unaccom-

who not only vindicated all his opinions, but afforded him an argument to disrespect their orders, by signing their dissent to the orders themselves, instead of minuting them on the consultations. It is clear however that Carnac was much, if not mainly influenced by the suspicion that the Governor was about, in disregard of repeated pledges, to withdraw English protection from Ramnarain.

In September 161 letters arrived from the Court, requiring Messrs. Sumner, McGuire, and Playdell to be dismissed, and soon after this Smith tendered his resignation and sailed for Europe. The three places were taken by John Carter, Warren Hastings, Johnstone and Hay and Ellis became Chief at Patna, where he arrived about the middle of November. The instructions given to the new Chief at Patna were sharply debated by the Board. Although Ramnarain is not mentioned in them, it was pointed out that "the impropriety of protecting a servant against his masters was calculated to cause 'nothing' but jealousy and ill-will between the Nabob and the Company" and it would be expressly contrary to our engagements with the Nabob. The Agent was not to interfere directly or indirectly in any of the affairs of the country government or with the people belonging to it, but to place his armed forces at the Nabob's service whenever requested. Some of the Board very rightly censured this arrangement by which the Chief was deprived of any right of discretion in regard to the nature of the services on which English troops might be employed. Hastings, while on the whole supporting the Governor was of opinion that although the Chief should have no power of discretion yet he should be able to make a representation to the Council, should he think the service required of our troops to be hurtful to the English character. Carnac thought that Ellis should be allowed power to decide. Amyatt thought the proposed arrangement dishonourable to our masters an indignity to the Board, and an unprecedented case till the chiefship of Mr. McGuire and in this view Coote concurred.

With Ellis's arrival at Patna, disputes with the country authorities become so many that it would be hopeless to attempt to recount them here. Among the most earliest and conspicuous instances of these disputes are the arrest of an officer of the Government named Meeram on a complaint from a Gomastah of the English factory the seizure of an Armenian Coja Aratoon, for interference in the Company's salt-petre monopoly the search of Monghyr Fort for the persons of two deserters. It will however be more useful to leave these details of the quarrel on one side, and proceed at once to discuss the question out of which an infinite number of troubles were bound to arise.

6 THE PRIVATE TRADE OF THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS

In a letter dated January 24th, 176 Clive and his Council made a remark which, ably and amply sums up the whole moral of the history of the period we are discussing. "We" they wrote, "now come to your instructions relative to the inland trade which you very justly consider as the foundation of all the bloodshed, massacres and confusion, which have happened of late years in Bengal."¹⁷ The inland trade referred to here is defined by Clive thus "as trade carried on by private persons, on their own credit and bottom, in commodities produced in the country and again sold in the same country." "The private trade consists of goods not fit for exportation, but which are again sold in the country; or it consists of articles which are funded, appropriated, and paid into the exchequer of the country (i.e., the native) Government."¹⁸

With this inland trade the East India Company (a collective body of foreign merchants incorporated) had no direct concern.¹⁹ The Company with infinite pains and expense had, by the servants

¹⁷ Vernet, *Jour. of the Rise and Progress of the British Government in Bengal*. Appendix p. 64.

¹⁸ Vernet's Original Papers Vol. I. p. XXVII.

¹⁹ Such as the demand paid by Ram Narain 1778 and the fees paid by Ramnarain for new trade privileges had been acquired from Mir Jafar by Clive and Watson.

SUMMARY

Van start had commenced his rule by offending the majority of those who were to act with him in Council. That was just the for Cause to cleave a letter almost contemptuous in its tone with this passage "Yet in this I am not singular as I was fully believe if the whole Board could be assembled (— — the half if not the majority) would be found to concur with me in sentiment. The deposition of Mir Jafar to which Wellesley's exorbitant policy had led the way had been a shock to the moral feeling of not a few of the Council and especially to the officers of the Army; and to the latter the suspicion that Vansittart would betray Mir Jafar as he did betray him into the hands of Mir Assem was an even greater trouble. As we read to-day the pages of Vansittart's books we cannot help feeling that to the end he felt himself committed to an "impossible loyalty" in hoping against hope in the honesty and capacity of his creation—Mir Kasim. The story of the inland trade is the heart of the whole matter. For it is clear that if the privileges which had been secured for the Company's export trade were to be held to cover the private and inland trade of the Company's servants, the result must have been not only the ruin of native merchants, trading on their own behalf but of the native Government, which, on these terms, would sacrifice its revenue. In 162 the present mind of Hastings had appreciated the fact that behind this trading difficulty lay a profound political problem. Nothing I fear he wrote to Van start, "will reach the root of these evils till some certain boundary be placed between the Nabob's authority and our privileges. When in 163 Van start published his *Original Propositions* of the inland trade he said "unless it be quite abolished, or wisely regulated, it must be the source of continual disputes. It can never be settled, unless the Legislature of the Company's jurisdiction and the country government's authority be fixed, and then he stated a dilemma,

- 1 If the Company could set up a title to, and could actually take possession of the whole province of Bengal, they could not govern and protect it. If they do not take possession of the whole province and the government cannot have the fruits of its own duties and revenues there will be perpetual sources of disputes.
- 2 Nor can any Mogul or Nawab, or the subjects of either be contented with the residence of such guests and the whole contented for their own interests, will be ready to join against them.

The working out of this problem is logically stated was facilitated by the violence of Mir Kasim.

THE MISSION OF WARREN HASTINGS TO MIR KASIM

In view of the dispute between the Chief of Tribes and the Nawab it was thought well that a person, in whom the Nawab had great confidence should be sent to reassure him with the confidence placed in him by the Government was in no way required. For this purpose no more suitable person could be found than Warren Hastings who as a former factor at Comptulzar and Resident at the Mowat was familiar with the ways of the Chief of Mowat. The terms of the commission were as follows

March 11 1764

Warren Hastings for some time past, has been employed in the Nabob's court which was little to nothing but the labor reports and regret at the of his other as person, a little of distress of carrying him, that we wish for nothing more than to procure the present tranquility of the country to avoid all disputes, and to maintain the terms of the treaty subsisting between him and the Company which proper to require you, in whom the Nabob has great confidence to make him aware of our intentions.

At the same time, we should be extremely glad to discover who have been the secret authors of this growing jealousy. We imagine, there may be some, as well as amongst the persons living under our protection, as about the Nabob's person. You may assure the Nabob that we shall severely punish those who belong to us, whatever we can fix the guilt, and you will strenuously recommend to him to do the same on his part.

The sooner you can get out on this commission the better, that the bad effects, which the want of confidence between us and the Nabob might occasion in the country may be prevented.

In these instructions there may perhaps be a threat on the Governor's part addressed to the opposition, but if threat there was, it was met by the opposition with a cruel piece of irony. I do not think that any writer has, before this, regarded the motion which Mr. Amyatt moved on "the next Council day but one" in its true character as a very cruel jest at the Governor's expense. Solemnly Amyatt arose in his place and moved

"Mr. Amyatt recollects the President having mentioned that 20 lakhs of rupees were promised by Cassim Ali Cawn to the Board, but that he would not consent to this money being received till the debt to the Company was paid. As that is now satisfied, Mr. Amyatt is of opinion, it should be made a part of Mr. Hastings' instructions to endeavour to recover the promised 20 lakhs and when recovered it instead of being distributed amongst the members of the Council, which could not fail of raising a suspicion that our assents to the Revolution were bought, the money should be placed to the credit of the Company." The persons who were to receive this refreshment were Vansittart, Holwell, Caillard, Sumner and McGuire.

Solemnly Mr. Hay contended that the bond for twenty lakhs, having been returned by the Governor, without an order from the Board, had been returned without proper authority, and its payment must, therefore, be insisted upon. Johnstone gave a similar opinion, adding however, that "the Company might have expected their agents to have accepted and transferred it to their account." Carnac put forward the paradox that only by insisting upon the payment could the Board justify itself, "for, however, innocent the gentlemen of the Board may be, they would probably imagine that they have all received some pecuniary consideration, in return for having appointed Cassim Ali Cawn to the *Scheldero*, whereas from this demand being made the contrary will appear upon record."

The President's reply was dignified and the facts he revealed do great honour to his integrity. Not only he, but Holwell, Sumner, and McGuire, had declined to receive Mr. Keshu's offer of 20 lakhs. On the 14th of his reign, the Governor had received a bill for Rs. 25,000 from the Nabob, and this had been paid into the Company's treasury. Up to February 8th, 1762, the Nabob had paid 2 lakhs of silver rupees to the Company, the Ceded Province had yielded 50 lakhs of current rupees. With what justice could more be asked? The General was prepared to believe that the revenue which had been desired. "I hope," the Governor said, "that the Board will not be misled by the proposal that it is made to receive for a short time the proceeds of the Ceded Province, and to transfer them to the Company, for the purpose of paying the debt of the Nabob to the Company, for the purpose of paying the debt of the Nabob to the Company, for the purpose of paying the debt of the Nabob to the Company."

The majority however decided th t the demand should be made and instructions to that effect were added to Hastings papers On April the 9th, he set out, and arrived at Patna on May 2nd, where he had hoped to meet Ellis but that gentleman had betaken himself to his country house at Singia, about 15 miles from the city and was careful to remain there during the five days Hastings remained at Patna. Hastings then pushed on to meet the Nawab at Sassaram. The Nawab warmly repudiated any unfriendliness, or jealousy of the English on his part, and if any person in his following could be pointed out as guilty of fomenting disaffection, I would make an example of him "It grieves me th t without cause or enquiry you Gentlemen suffer such suspicions to take place in your hearts and declare them to me your friend. Who it is belonging to yourself as that is continually speaking evil of me propagating calumnies against me and representing me to you as your enemy is not unknown to you The acts of violence committed by Mr Ellis before my face the insults on my people and the disturbances raised in the country; my authority rendered contemptible to all Indostan; and obstructions thrown in the way of every business of the Government in the province of Behar"

The intractable character of Mr Ellis seemed for the moment the one difficulty in the way of perfect understanding with Mr Haim—a difficulty made insurmountable by the fact that as Hastings put it, "the most glaring misconduct in him (Ellis) would meet with support from a majority in the Board." In the end Hastings' mission could produce nothing better than good advice to two absolutely irreconcilable foes.

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9 VASHTART'S ATTEMPT TO REGULATE THE INLAND TRADE

It was the mission of Warren Hastings which brought into prominence the serious problem of the inland trade While at Sassaram, Hastings explained to the Nawab the strict regulations which the Governor wished to be adopted with a view to leading to an end the abuses of the English flag on country laden boats. We are here concerned not with these regulations but with their consequences The nature of the private inland trade has already been defined but it has yet to be pointed out th t while the private traders failed to see th t the privileges secured for the Company's export trade could not cover their own private adventures without placing the native merchants at an enormous disadvantage the Nawab on the other hand was ready to crush the inland trade of the European merchant out of all existence Vassart and Hastings were prepared to admit, and admitted, th t the Imperial firmans gave no privileges of drawback to private trade and that therefore the European merchants were bound to pay as did the rest the customary duties; but the position maintained by the Nawab was th t his predecessors had in times past restrained the European merchants from carrying on inland trade upon any footing whatsoever The right to buy and sell country products within the country he claimed, was entirely in his own hands, and he had watched with satisfaction and gusto the new markets under English government which were springing into existence even in the most remote parts of his province. The Governor's contention I succinctly stated in a letter addressed to the Council from Morghyr by himself and Warren Hastings December 1 th 1764

As on the one hand we do not see any reason why the English gentlemen and other inhabitants of Calcutta, and the subordinate factories should carry on the inland trade with the Company's drawback or in any other respect more advantageously than the country merchants so, on the other hand, we think it would be a great hardship if we would all belonging to us were not admitted upon an equality with the merchants

and inhabitants of other parts of Bengal, and suffered to trade on equal terms, in all commodities, and in all places, provided our agents and gomastahs do not set themselves up for magistrates in the country, and carry on their business by force and oppression -

If then, on the one hand the English merchants were inclined to abuse the Company's privileges by covering their own private merchandise by a *dutuck* only lawfully applicable to foreign-borne trade, the Nawab on the other evinced a strong inclination to impede their inland trade on any footing whatsoever. In these circumstances it cannot be doubted that the restriction on the passage of boats on the river to which Hastings gave assent, on behalf of the Governor on May 18th, 1762, must have given a handle to the always lawless and insolent officers of Mir Kasim, who could make these otherwise laudable measures a pretext for interfering with the inland trade, however lawfully and peacefully conducted.

To return to the course of events, through which we must travel with greater speed, now that the essence of the existing troubles has been explained. In June, 1762, Hastings returned to Calcutta. For two months the Governor was laid up by a dangerous illness, and Amyatt presided in his room. "The first I heard of business after my recovery," he writes, "was that a war was breaking out with the Nawab, complaints crowded in upon me from all parts, the officers of the Government declaring that their authority was trampled upon by the English gomastahs, so that they could no longer preserve the least order, in the management of the business committed to their charge nor collect the revenues of the Government, and that the usual duties which had been paid by the English merchants on salt and some other articles of trade were now withheld and refused, and, on the other side, the gentlemen of the subordinate factories and the English gomastahs asserting that they had paid the usual duties, notwithstanding which many of their boats were stopped."²

Anxious both to obtain a change of air, and to see what could be effected by his immediate presence, Vansittart determined to pay the Nabob a visit at Monghyr, and accordingly, with Hastings as his assistant, he set out on October the 20th. He reached Murshidabad on the 3rd, and stayed there doing business till the 12th, on the 30th he arrived at Monghyr, "where the Nabob received me with all the usual marks of respect. Hardly a day past, but I went with Mr Hastings to visit the Nabob, or he came to us. His constant topic was the ill-treatment he had received from Mr Ellis, the injustice done him by me, the Council, in not resenting such gross injuries. As I knew it was out of my power to give him any satisfaction in that point, I answered that all these disputes were long passed, and that now he and I were met together, such regulations should be made, as would be satisfactory to both parties, and prevent disputes in future. It was always warm upon this argument, and I found that he and Mr Ellis could never be friends; however, I hoped, that the occasions of dispute might be removed and their quarrels be buried within their own breasts."

Poor optimistic Vansittart! Within a year from this date Mr Hastings was to be the confidant of Ellis and Amyatt, and a crowd of unarm'd unoffensive English provinces. It is known that the character of a Government may be judged by the nature of the opposition it attracts. When three years after the conclusion of the *Paragard* Vansittart published his Account, he was clearly of opinion that the experience with Mir Kasim led to a new plan, but it is not clear that he ever made any part at all known to modernise the opposition which his support of the misinformed Nabob provoked.

Vansittart tells us that the Nabob next complained of the interference in the inland trade, a salt rebellion, to have even, and the salt being entirely supplied by one person.

employed in carrying it on in the distant parts of the country. He urged that we had no right to this trade from our firmans, that it occasioned incredible damage and disorder to his government, and thus for the advantage only of particulars and in short insisted that we should resume it no longer but confine our private trade in the same manner it was before the government of Meer Jafar. Although I was of the same opinion with the Nabob, as to the wishes of the Firmans that the could not be construed to extend further than the trade in articles imported by shipping and the manufactures and products of the country for exportation, yet I was willing to give up an advantage which had been enjoyed by the Company's servants in greater or less degree for five or six years and therefore told the Nabob that as to the inland trade or the trade from place to place in the country we meant only to carry it on upon the same footing with other merchants that we had always paid more or less duties to the government on that trade but as the rates were not fixed and regulated, many disputes arose on that account and we could inform ourselves of the rate of duties paid by the Moors and other merchants; and accordingly to that give a general order that duties should be paid in all parts. To this the Nabob consented with difficulty and declared, that if after this regulation any more disputes should arise and the duties agreed on should not be paid, he should have no remedy left, but leaving that trade entirely open, and giving general liberty to the merchants of the country and all other nations to carry on the commerce on terms free

In due course Vansittart and Hastings settled with the Nabob a treaty for the inland trade as follows —

1. That for all trade imported or exported by shipping the Company's *dastak* shall be granted and it shall pass unmolested and free of custom as usual.
2. For all trade from one place in the country to another in commodities produced in the country as salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, etc. the Company's *dastak* shall not be granted but it shall go with the *dastak* of the Subbunder shahbunder or other officer of the country government.
3. That at the time of taking out the said *dastak* and before the despatch of the goods the duties shall be paid according to the rates, which shall be particularly settled and annexed to this agreement.
4. That the said duties so to be paid before the exportation, shall be the whole that are to be paid so that after the despatch of the goods, nothing shall be paid at the *hokeys* in the road, nor at the place of sale.
5. That all goods, being related therewith the Company's *dastak* or that of the government, shall meet with no obstruction or delay. The guards or *hokeys* on the road shall have nothing more to do than demand a receipt of the *dastak* unless they shall observe the loads to be laden with a larger quantity of goods than are mentioned in the *dastak* in which case they are to go to the nearest Police station to the nearest English factory as well as to the nearest Fort of the government, that orders may be sent to the nearest Police station; but they are not to detain them in the road.
6. If any person attempt to pass goods without a *dastak* either from the government or the Company or to clandestinely forward a Company's *dastak* to pass what it may, or other produce of the country from place to place for inland trade such goods shall be seized and confiscated. The guards and *hokeys* in the road are to stop them, and to give notice to the nearest Police station as well as to the nearest officer of the government.

- 7th If any person, not having a *dustuck*, shall attempt to pass boats, or goods clandestinely, under the care of, and in company with other boats or goods having a *dustuck*, such boats or goods so attempted to be passed clandestinely shall be seized and confiscated.
- 8th The gomastahs in every place shall carry on their trade freely, and as merchants, and shall on no account use force in buying and selling. If any disputes arise in the course of their business they shall not attempt to redress them themselves, but shall make their complaints to the Fouzedar, or other officer of the government, and have the matter tried before him. In like manner, if any merchant or inhabitant shall be aggrieved by any English gomastah, he shall make his complaints to the Fouzedar, or other officer of the government, and the gomastah being duly summoned, shall appear before him to answer to the charge, and have the matter determined.
- 9th To deter the Fouzedars and other officers of the government from being guilty of any partiality, they shall be enjoined to transmit to the Nabob copies of their proceedings, upon all trials where English agents or gomastahs are concerned, likewise to give a copy to the agent or gomastah, who, if he thinks himself aggrieved, may send the same to his principal, and he may make his complaint to the President, who, if the case requires it, will apply to the Nabob for redress, and when any Fouzedar, or other officer of the government, shall be proved guilty of such partiality, the Nabob shall punish him in the most exemplary manner.

These regulations, reasonable as they cannot but appear to us, were to become the subject of violent quarrels.

10 VANSITTART AND HASTINGS AT PATNA

Having paid farewell to Mir Kasim who was setting out with his army on an expedition against Behar and Nepal, the Governor and his assistant left for Patna which place they reached on January 1st, 1767. Four days were spent here in discussing with Illis the complaints which the Nabob's deputy had to put forward, and which chiefly concerned the Bariliana gate—a small wicket in the N. W. quarter of the city, and a canal known as *Chandeeary*, which had been set up "without any right grant or order, either from the Company or the Nabob." The point about the gate was that it afforded a short cut into the city for the folk at the factory, who would have otherwise had to go five or six hundred yards round to the west gate of the city, but the Nabob insisted that, in the interest of good order in the city, the wicket must be closed and the Governor thought it best to comply. Orders were given that *Chandeeary* should be abolished. The Governor left Patna on January 5th, and Morphy on the 9th. On January 16th he left Cossimbazar "upon hearing news of the French ships in Baharee Peck and arrived in Calcutta on the 16th."

11 THE CONFLICT IN THE COUNCIL

At a new and very important turn in the history of the affairs of the Company with Mir Kasim. At Morphy the Governor had explained to the Nabob that the Company would not take effect any orders from the Nabob which would be contrary to the principles of the Company. Upon the arrival of the Nabob he was told that the Company would not take effect any orders from the Nabob which would be contrary to the principles of the Company.

Vansittart, "I had hardly left him when he despatched copies of my letters to his officers in all parts of the country with general orders for their observance and a direction that all English gomastahs, who refused to comply with them, should be turned out of the country."

This act of suicidal folly on the part of the Nabob can only be explained on the supposition that he had utterly repented of the concessions allowed English merchants to carry on their private trade on equal terms with the native merchants. He had no doubt formed the opinion that Vansittart was a man of weak character and so much committed to supporting him, (the Nabob's) interests, that, armed with the authority of the Governor's letters he would be a sure way of being able to route out the English trade and traders piece-meal. As Mir Asim's action was so well calculated to do so the Governor to side with his opponent to the Council, it may with safety be said that the Nabob by this step, embarked on that course of recklessness which was to end in measures which nothing could atone for and which could only gratify a lust for revenge. To add folly to folly the Nabob, in one of his letters, exempted the private trade of Vansittart and Hastings from liability.

The Governor now found himself in an absolutely impossible situation, and the more so because he had, while at Bombay, received £50,000 promised to himself and £20,000 for Colonel Caulfield. He was ill-fitted by nature, writes Elphinstone, to be a proper agent for the reckless counsels and ebullient language of his opponents, and he was rendered feebler than usual by the consciousness of his pecuniary obligations to the Nabob and by his being himself engaged in the inland trade though without taking in the alarums. On his arrival at Calcutta he learned from Amyatt that orders had been sent for all the members of the Board to come down from the different settlements, with the exception of the Chiefs of Patna and Chittagong (on account of the distances) and that Major Carnar had taken his seat. On February 1st the Governor entered a lengthy minute on the consultation in which he defended his transactions in the matter of the regulation of the inland trade and in particular made reply to the facts at Dacca who had in various terms represented the loss in which the new regulations would involve their concerns. He strove to deal with an situation conveyed in a letter from Johnstone and Hay to the effect that the motive of the restriction placed on the trade of others was the advancement of his own private affairs. As to the Major he is a member of the Board, according to our Hon'ble Masters of action who must give us only one decided law. How the regulation of a method for carrying on a trade in salt, leather, and tobacco, can be brought under that title I cannot conceive nor how he can be supposed to be a friend of such a project; yet if you conceive him as we can be far from objecting to his being present. In the meanwhile pending the assembling of the Council, the Governor wrote to the Nabob that all restriction would be made by the Council and that he must restrain his people from exercising any sort of interference with the English agent Amyatt, who had presided at the Council during Vansittart's absence also directed a minute denying that any authority had been conferred in the President for the delivery of the late transactions.

On February 13th the Council met, and during Vansittart Amyatt Breen (Chief of Hassan) Breen (Chief of Lucknow) Cartier (Chief of Dacca) Hastings, Johnstone (Chief of Patna) Hay, Marmont and Watt. The motion that Carnar should be called in all agreed, save the President, Hastings, Watt and as the majority was in favour of Carnar being called, Major Adams also took his seat. The proceedings commenced with a minute presented by Amyatt

17 Dec. p. 104. Elphinstone: *The History of the British Power in the East* p. 303

18 N. H. V. H. pp. 236-237.

in which the whole proceedings of the Governor at Monghyr and Patna were censured.²⁹ Before the proceedings for the day closed, Carnac delivered a letter claiming the command at Patna—"the station of Patna being the most likely quarter from whence we may expect troubles"—a claim which Vansittart opined had "all the appearance of his wishing to make them (the disputes with the Nawab) worse, and to be more at hand to act in concert with Mr. Ellis to that end."

On the consultations of February 18th and 19th, when the Nawab's demand in regard to the Babunna gate was dealt with, we find not one member of the Council defended the Governor's decision, while two or three assigned to the Nawab an intent to offer an indignity to the English nation and possibly an act of hostility. In consequence a letter in peremptory terms was written to the Nabob calling on him to re-open the gate. In the matter of the ganj, the Council unanimously supported the Governor.

If we were engaged on a general history of the English in Bengal and not simply with the humbler task of sketching the events which led up to the massacres at Patna, it would be necessary to give here a detailed account of the transactions of the Council from day to day, and nothing indeed would be found more interesting than a comparison of the views maintained in the several minutes. But we must hasten our pace. It was agreed that the Governor had in his letter exceeded his powers—"a decision", writes Elphinstone, "which if it had not been accompanied with violence and invective, would have been justified by the fact."³⁰ With the exception of Vansittart and Hastings, all held that the imperial firmans entitled them to trade in country produce duty-free, although seven of the twelve thought that, of favour but not of right, the Nawab should be allowed a duty of two and a half per cent. on salt, the Governor had agreed with the Nawab for nine. To a resolution which, as Elphinstone tersely puts it, determined that "the agents were to be the only judges in all their disputes with private persons, and the chief of the factory in those with the Nawab's defendants" even Vansittart agreed, Hastings alone dissenting, and in the troubled days of ours, the words of the strenuous ruler of later days, are worth recalling—"As I have formerly lived among the country people in a very inferior station, and at a time when we were subject to the most slavish dependence on the Government, and have met with the greatest indulgence and even respect, from zemindars and officers of Government. I can with the greater confidence deny the justice of this opinion, I add further from repeated experience, that if our people, instead of erecting themselves into lords and oppressors of the country, confine their lives to such honest and fair trade, they will everywhere be courted and esteemed."

12 THE GROWING FURY OF THE NAWAB

We parted last with Mir Kasim as he was setting forth on his expedition against Degal. If the account in the *Secret History* is to be relied on, the conduct of this expedition was calculated to irritate the Nawab with disgust, and to justify the opinion which Carnac held in a separate letter to the commandant. It could hardly be imagined that the Nawab returned from Degal to find once more his people with the English. The first thing he was told on his return was that the English had been dealing with a Council at Vansittart. He learned of the 22d of February only by tales of the English soldiers, he had no other information.

²⁹ The *Secret History* says that Vansittart's letter was delivered to the Governor by the English agents at Patna. The *Secret History* also says that the Nawab's letter to the Governor was delivered to the Governor by the English agents at Patna. The *Secret History* also says that the Nawab's letter to the Governor was delivered to the Governor by the English agents at Patna.

When you came here an agreement in writing was made between us, which I imagined all the gentlemen would consent to but it is amazing that not a single person has approved of it. Notwithstanding all you have expressly directed to the chiefs at Patna and Dacca factories, they do not pay any regard to it, but return for answer "We do not approve of the Governor's proceedings when the gentlemen of the Council write to us, we will immediately follow their directions."

Since the commencement of Meer Mahomed Jaffer Cawn's management to the present time, I have not known any one but yourself. Now the gentlemen of all the factories do not regard your directions but require the orders of the Council, and they ruin the affairs of both this province [Behar] and Bengal, the zemindars and the merchandise the rats for what reason I cannot conceive. I neither have nor shall negotiate with any person but yourself and therefore I plainly write that if you intend to regard the agreement made between us you should act in such a manner that the gentlemen may not make their objections to it; if not, advise me of it. I understand that a number of the gentlemen are inclined to establish another Subahdar. This appears to me a trivial matter. Let them establish whom they please. It is of no consequence to me. I do not regard matters of so small importance. God made the world, and everything is made by Him. I gave you orders to the amount of fifty lacks of rupees for the maintenance of troops to destroy my enemies but it is amazing that a number of gentlemen have on the contrary collected troops against me in order to ruin my country. It is the universal perception that the Europeans are to be confided in but to see all this surprises me.

In a letter dated, February the 6th the Nawab is even still more effective. Is it too much to be hoped that some day it will be practicable for the Calcutta Historical Society or the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to publish a volume of Mir Kasim's letters the Persian text on one page and the translation facing it? This letter concludes.

As to what you write of my officers, it appears from thence that the agreement made between us, the Council has not assented to. To be sure whatever your gomastahs write is all exactly just and proper and my people tell nothing but lies and barefaced falsehoods. I must have ill losses in your trade made good to you but who will indemnify me for the loss of revenues, partly due to my government?

I must cut off my officers' heads, but your gomastahs, who are guilty of oppression, receive more repentance from you. You know very well, Sir that I never intended such a treaty. It was merely in compliance with your pleasure that I assented to it. Now that the Council do not agree to it and want to make another treaty this is unreasonable. The demands, which I formerly made to you, I now agree to reject. The first is thus from the beginning till now the Nawab of Bengal corresponded with the Governor of Calcutta, as I have done and do with you having a correspondence with the rest of the Board.

The second is, I have before remarked to you, that the Company's trade has been established from time immemorial; but, at present, besides the Company trade the gomastahs of the English gentlemen have set up the trade of salt, tobacco, dried fish, tinners etc. as they draw from the country; especially from and extract from and are continually increasing it despite and wrangling with my officers so that the poor the inhabitant

the Council will not put an end to these disputes. Certainly the Council had no such intention, at least not until their trade had been secured. In one letter Mir Kasim goes so far as to employ the phrase "your servants and men of low character" in another he writes "I have no resource but to make use of you do, of expressions tending to dissolve our friendship." These letters were read in Council on March 4th and the Governor was called upon to address a reply to the Nawab which may perhaps be styled an ultimatum.

I have received your letters of the 11th, 14th and 15th instant. With regard to the interruptions of our trade and the disputes, which have happened between the dependents of your Government and ours, our original orders were to apply to you and your officers for redress, on any occasion of complaint on our part but this was so often done without effect that, finding the interruptions and disturbances daily increase inasmuch that our business was in most parts put an entire stop to, we had no remedy left to make use of but that of force to free our business and therefore disagreeable as it was to us, we were obliged to give such orders to all the factories of which you have been before duly advised.

What Mr Ellis has done in the Patna Province for clearing the Company's business, was agreeable to the said orders sent to him by the Board; and I must here particularly observe with reference to that gentleman's not applying to you for redress on any occasion that you have absolutely put it out of his power by declaring that you would not answer any of his letters, and having really left unanswered four which he actually wrote you.

I do not find that you have yet given orders to any of your officers to forbear from obstructing our business as they still continue to do it to the utmost of their power excepting in those places where our troops are actually stationed for its protection; and when you have given such orders as shall put an end to these obstructions on our part, will not interfere with your officers, or the officers of your government.

I have wrote you before of our resolution and demands, and now I again acquaint you that we shall insist upon compliance with them in every point. Myself as well as the Council, are resolved to support you in your government and all its rights. But if you oppose our people the execution of the orders, which we have authorized, and with which you have been acquainted, we shall look upon such conduct as an open declaration of war but to how you our earnest desire to prevent such an event, we continue in our resolution to send you Mr Amity (who will be accompanied by Mr Hyslop) for the purpose we have before wrote you, as soon as we shall receive your answer to that letter.

I must in this letter take notice of two particular phrases that you make use of *servants* and *men of low character*. I am very unwilling to suppose you could by such unbecoming expressions mean the gentlemen of Council but they will me to set up an explanation, as we will by no means suffer ourselves to be treated with disrespect.

Before this letter had been despatched, tidings reached Calcutta that Mir Kasim had executed a coup d'état the possibility of which he had more than hinted to Van Rott and Hastings at the time of their stay at Moughyer. The measure was as clever in itself but as futile from the statesman's point of view as that remarkably better known—King James II's Declaration of Indulgence. Mir Kasim has evidently stolen that page from the *trial in 1746* in which we read how a *chief lady is told, of her going to talk on her master's door* called all the other doors. Called upon to permit it duties on French inland trade Mir Kasim now remitted all duties

for European and Native alike, for the space of two years. The effect of this intelligence on the Council has been thus described by Dalphinstone

"This intelligence transported the ruling part of the Council beyond all bounds of reason. All declared it a violation of the Company's rights, some pronounced it an act of usurpation to permit the Emperor's customs without his leave though they had themselves accepted both exemption and territories as little sanctioned by the Emperor, others denied the right of a Nizam whom they had raised to the Sulthaniship and supported by force of arms against the King, to employ the power, with which they had been pleased to invest him to undermine their royal privileges and ruin their trade, and one member denied the notion of the Nawab's possessing any independence in his own territory, and treated the assertion of such a right as more worthy of his hired agents than of members of the board. . . . This was the tone adopted by men, who, seven years before, had lived in slavish dependence on the Nawab's government, and who, by their subsequent treaties had acquired no right or pretence for interfering in his internal administration. The motives they affected were proportioned to the greatness of their pretensions. No one hunted at the danger to their illicit gains, it was the honour of the factory, the dignity of the district, above all, the glory of the nation, which was to suffer by the suppression of smuggling."

Shortly after this meeting of Council, news came of tidings of violence, at the Nawab's instigation, at Gya, and also that his Deputy at Dacca had put a complete stop to the trade in that district. We cannot but be wondered why the Council did not at once direct that the army should immediately march, for the measures which they decided should be taken were calculated to provoke a rupture of their relations with Mir Kasim and the Nawab, so far from welcoming the idea of the mission of Amyatt and Hay, was inclined to regard it as but a rejection of the mission which had deposed his predecessor. This view was expressed by Batson on April 1st, but the Governor still clung to the opinion that "the Nizam has not the design of breaking with us," and it was agreed that "the Nizam should again be wrote to, to insist of his receiving the deputation and that Messrs Amyatt and Hay should proceed to, and wait for his answer at Cossimbazar." A refusal on the Nawab's part to accept the demands of the Commission was to be held "a declaration on his side of his intention to come to a rupture with us."

which were to be taken should the rupture take place. If the Nawab were to march upon Patna, the English at that place were to endeavour to possess themselves of the city and wait further orders from either the Council or Major Adams. Should the task of attacking the city seem too hazardous, then they must take such post as they can best defend themselves in, and, if they can, cover the factory until they shall receive further orders as above mentioned. Should the Nawab remain at Mughyr they must follow the same course. Should he march on Calcutta, then after having seized the city they must move down to Rinnulla, to be in greater readiness to join Major Adams. The question was then raised "How shall they be informed of a rupture or what shall they construe as such." The difficulty lay on the one hand, in the great distance between Patna and Calcutta and the consequent difficulty of keeping Ellis informed of what was going on and, on the other the possibility that the gentlemen at Patna, if left to take action at their own discretion, might by error inolve the Company in a war. For safety's sake it was determined that the folk at the Patna factory should write for information from the Council before acting upon the plan laid down. To this, on the 9th of May the Chief and Council at Patna made reply.

We have received your favour of the 14th instant, with the resolutions of the Board, which, as far as we comprehend them will not allow us to construe any act of the Nabob as hostile, although ever so greatly tending to our ruin but we are to wait until we have notice from you of a rupture being declared. Who there may be to receive your commands, is hard to say but most probably neither any of us, nor of the party now here as we shall clearly expect.

We had intelligence (not from hircaraha) that if the army should come from Calcutta, the Nabob intends marching here to attack us, in which case he will certainly remove our dunks, and cut off all communication by that channel. It will be the third day of his march before we can receive certain notices of it, and a single corporal will be twelve days reaching Calcutta, provided he meets with no impediment; but it is more probable that at such a juncture he never gets there and still more so that your answer never reaches us. How then, are we to act?

This factory it is well known is not tenable if attacked from the city and to abandon it will, amongst other evils give such a shock to the spirit of our troops as may induce the greatest part of our sepoys (in whom our principal strength consists) to desert us and go to the Nabob, where they are better insured of success and will meet with ample encouragement which has not been spared, even when there was no appearance of rupture to those who would desert with the arms. Another substantial reason why we cannot leave the factory is, our having put our ammunition, for its greater security in the lower part of the house. The magazine where it before lay being liable to be blown up by a common rocket.

But let us suppose for a moment that, on the Nabob's marching against us we quit the factory and take post. Are we to sacrifice our surgeons and sick who reside in the city? For it cannot be supposed that they will be permitted to come out, or if they could, the situation of most of them is such that the risk being brought to the shore will be attended with certain death. When we take a fortified ourselves in this post, our affairs are not all ended, for the Nabob has only to surround and starve us; whilst we dying by inches sit waiting for your orders, which can never arrive but with the army which it is conjectured will be forty days after his march from Mughyr. How are we to subsist all that time? The Nabob seizes all provisions coming from Deagah, and such is the scarcity here that had it not been for the guns which so much garnish

On May 15th Amyatt and Hay waited on the Nawab at Monghyr. At first there seemed to be some hope that the Nawab would accept the demands of the Company but on either side there were complaints of a too haughty bearing. To throw everything into confusion, at this critical moment, some boats laden with arms for the English troops at Patna, which had been despatched two months before in passing by Monghyr were stopped by the Nawab's guards. This circumstance either served to cause a genuine alarm or else to afford a pretext for the claim, which Mir Kasim made at once, that the forces must be either brought down from Patna, or else Ellis must be recalled, and either Amyatt, McGwire, or Hastings appointed in his room.

Having received a number of letters from both Mir Kasim and the Deputation, a general Council, on June 9th, resolved that the troops should not be removed from Patna, and that if the Nawab persisted to demand it, or to detain the boats of arms, Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should be directed to leave Monghyr. At the same time the gentlemen at Patna were advised of these resolutions, and ordered to act as might be directed by Messrs. Amyatt and Hay.

The following is the account given by the author of the *Scandalous History* of Amyatt's ill-fated deputation —

"Intelligence coming at the time that Mr Amyatt was drawing near the Nawab, who had beforehand sent for Mir-aldollah-kefer from Agra, a valuable gentleman, whose merit has many times been mentioned in these memoirs, now thought proper to join me the poor man, to him in the same commission and he desired us, as we were both upon familiar terms with Mr Amyatt, to go forward in order to receive him, and to endeavour to discover what was his real purpose and what might be his real intentions in coming so far. He at the same time appointed a Gentoo, to attend us as Persian secretary and he ordered twenty spies to be at our command both as spies and as messengers. These twenty men were divided in two divisions, and commanded by two head men as officers, who had orders to disguise themselves like menial servants, and to introduce themselves the one into Mir-aldollah's service the other into mine with injunctions never to be absent from any of the meetings or conferences which might be held with the English, and to take care to observe not only the expressions and words, but even the gestures of the hands as well as the head between us, transmitting every day a faithful account of what they should hear or see. One of these twenty messengers, on receiving a letter was to carry it to the next post, and then to return to his office. Every one of us having received our lesson in this manner we quitted Monghyr and arrived at Gangapattah, where we had the good luck to meet Mr Amyatt but on embracing him took care to whisper that we had just over us Mir Amyatt and the others being thereby put upon their guard spoke and acted with precaution for being every night at the same landing place we used to frequent the great part of our time with the English and whatever we had a floor heard, was fully set down both by us and by the head spies, and severally dispatched to the Nawab every evening. One day to our mutual surprise, I opened my commission to Mr Amyatt with an audible voice and I spoke to him as I had been instructed to do by the Nawab. "What can you say to me?" said I. "The reason of your coming and what is your intent? Being both of us well-versed to His Majesty's service, as well as to the English, we are desirous of being informed of your intentions, that we may contrive expedients for the benefit of both parties." Mr Amyatt, with a loud voice answered: "It is customary with Indians, when they come to us to fill us with lies and to go as they may keep us in good humour and then they return to the Nawab they are careful to speak to him, so as to honour him in his words; and hence our real intent on both sides remains concealed from each other party and our views do not come to light. It is to avoid those inconveniences, that we have quitted our homes, to come so far in disguise with intention to see the Nawab face to face and to tell him what we have to say as well as to hear what he has to

"answer," and, thus being the case, it is needless that we should have any business with any other "patron." This declaration of Mr Amyatt's putting an end to all political topics, we took care in our conversation with the English to drop many expressions of reproach, and to dispute with them in such a manner, as was pointed out by the times; it being the only expedient we could devise, to preserve ourselves from the Navab's suspicions, and to avoid feeling the effects of his resentment. On the day when this last conversation took place, the contents of which were severally forwarded to Court both by us and by the head spies, we arrived at Baghalpore and there received a letter from the Navab, which recalled both Mir-aldollah and me, adding that as Mr Amyatt did not choose to enter into any particulars with us it was needless we should stay with him any more, but, that we must manage so as to be at Court before the Englishman's arrival. Mir-aldollah, having informed Mr Amyatt of this recall we took our leave of him, and returned to Monghyr, where we waited on the Navab immediately, after having been met in the way by several messengers that came to hasten our march. Being in his presence, he commenced putting questions to us. As my poor friend, Mir-aldollah, (on whom he perceived) had not a ready delivery, and I could not express myself properly, his answers displeased the Navab, and he was twice reproached and afterwards dismissed. He went home, and I followed him, with intent to take some rest, when a messenger came from Aaly Ibrahim-ghan, informing me that His Highness wanted me immediately, and that I must go with the Qhan to Court. Then I was to put on a full dress again, and to repair to the Navab's. This Prince was in his private apartments, sitting in the outer room of his bath, and in close conference with Ghurghum-ghan. I took my seat in a corner, and Aaly-Ibrahim in another. The Navab repeated to Ghurghum-ghan what he had heard from my mouth. He then turned towards me, and ordering me to draw nearer, he bid me tell Ghurghum-ghan all my observations. Upon this command, I drew near, and sitting over against that General, I recommenced my tale. The General, after hearing a few words, seemed ruffled, and, to show that my report deserved but little credit he turned towards the Navab, and said *My Lord Navab, were a man to rip open an Englishman's body with a knife, he would not for that come at his secret.* He then turned a man to me and asked me some questions, which I answered. At the third or fourth answer, he seemed impatient, and said "My Lord Qhan, I want nothing of all that. Pray, do answer three or four questions which I am going to put to you. What is Mr Amyatt's mission? And does he come to intrigue against the Navab, or not? Is he come to pry into the state of the army and fortress, or not? Has he any friendship or good will for us, or does he come with hostile intentions?" On hearing these words, I was extremely surprised, and looking at him full in the face, I answered "My Lord, your questions really confound me, and I am amazed at what you mean. It is not a long time since you said yourself, that were one to rip open an Englishman's body, he would not for that come at his secret, and you want me now to reveal to you Mr Amyatt's mission?" "Thanks!" As to his coming with hostile intentions it would be really surprising that I should harbour any such designs; the more so as you have a large, and able body of troops, and are afraid of neither design, nor men who are at the helm, and capable of doing every thing for a turn. As to what you have said of his coming to pry into the state of the army and the fortress I am of course, in a situation to do Mr. Amyatt that duty, and I am sure that he will not be able to do more against me, as I am a knowledge of both your army and fortress, and that the action of such a knowledge of the wall of the fortress is a knowledge of the wall of the fortress. With respect to your question of his coming to pry into the state of the army and the fortress, I am of course, in a situation to do Mr. Amyatt that duty, and I am sure that he will not be able to do more against me, as I am a knowledge of both your army and fortress, and that the action of such a knowledge of the wall of the fortress is a knowledge of the wall of the fortress. 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a friend to me became now more estranged than ever. But the Navvab dismissed me, and as I was going home in the utmost amazement, I could not but admire that fulness of power in the divine dispensations of Providence which had susceited such and the like people to stand over our heads as Generals of armies, and as Ministers of State, with unlimited powers of binding and loosing. The next morning after this conference the Navvab sent his own nephew Abo-ally-qhan, and his Minister Hadj Nohet-ray to meet and receive Mr Amyatt, and on the third day the latter arrived at Men-hyr where he alighted at a set of tents that had been pitched up for his quarters. The Navvab went to see him, at which time the visit became one continued scene of dissimulation and reciprocal flattery. The next day Mr Amyatt returned the visit. He had with him Mr Hay and Captain Johnston, together with some other gentlemen, amongst whom was a Mr Gulston, a young man lately come into India, who in so short a time had learned the Persian very well, and at our first interview had conceived as much good will for me as I had for him. The Navvab, on seeing Mr Amyatt got up as in the etiquette advanced a few steps from his Meehed, and brought him to sit upon some chairs placed there on purpose upon one of which he took his own seat. After little conversation, the usual ceremonial of Paan, At r and Rose-water was brought up, and then several trays covered with stuffs were produced, together with one plate containing jewelled gems all which were presented to him. On his taking leave, the Navvab got up and re-conducted him as well as all the English as far as the end of the carpeting where he invited them to an enteria ment. It might they all came and after having been amused with dances and a bonfire they were complimented with an enteria ment, which lasted beyond midnight. Since that day the English visited the Navvab several times, and at each visit matters seemed verging towards a rupture. For it was remarked, that at every meeting the Navvab, whether by choice or otherwise never failed to commit some action, or to be guilty of some gesture which never failed to give offence and to be laid hold of as a fit subject of complaint. At last, the discontent ran so high that at one time Mr Amyatt, who had advanced as far as the door of the Navvab's apartment, returned back much displeased nor would he have been brought gain, had not some of the Navvab's eunuchs run after him, and intreated his being pacified. Mr Amyatt and the others complained of the Navvab's guards at the gate and of some other of his servants. The Navvab professed his ignorance and made many apologies but the English would not be brought to believe that servants would dare to commit such actions without the master's consent and they were still more displeased at the apology. However as the Navvab was offering many excuses, they determined that the only method with him was, to put his words to the trial. With that view Mr Gulston and Captain Johnston, got on horse-back at daybreak as in the English custom and went out to take an airing and to see the country but as soon as they offered to go somewhat far a real foot-guard, stationed at that part, forbade their proceeding that way and some troopers, who suddenly appeared, opposed their passage. The English, accustomed to talk high, and to carry every thing with a high hand, forced them to pass on forward. The guards increased, lighted up their matchlocks and put themselves in a posture of defence and the English, after having attempted in vain to turn them returned to town and went directly to the Navvab where they stated themselves in various complaints, and made use of several harsh expressions. The Navvab flatly denied his having any hand in the matter and excused his people he also apologized for himself, and pretended his ignorance. But this did not persuade any one of the English nor was this dust wiped off from their brows and this

Mr B. as Mr Amyatt's new English but, having the very first interview presented himself with politeness, and soon after in his English which with the improvements was the general style, that Persians refused to speak to him any more. Amyatt being our look, and those I saw as well as his style of speech, may be conjectured from the English accounts to observe that the Persians, both in those days understood the Persian and the English, and that the Navvab's minister (the I. M. who spoke Persian) and the English, both in those days, were in a manner, unable to understand each other, was of good to make use of English - Translator's note.]

"fight against two thousand five hundred." To this the Navvab having said that he wondered why nobody would say so much to Gurgin-qhan himself Aaly-hibrahim-qhan answered, that if His Highness's pleasure was that so much should be said to Gurgin-qhan, it would prove a small affair. The Navvab a little affected by these words, desired Radja Hobet-ray and Aaly-hibrahim-qhan to go and bring Gurgin-qhan to Court, as he intended to consult him on this subject. The two Lords accepted the commission and departed. Gurgin-qhan on hearing their errand, seemed to be in a passion, and said, "My office is that of Grand-master of the artillery and I am but a soldier, not a statesman. I have no business with consultations and politics. Let His Highness consult with his friends" and farther, "Wherever there is war and I am sent to stand in some post, I hope I shall not fail to do my duty but as for politics I know nothing of them." The Radja observing the violence of the man's temper said in a few words, but turned his eyes towards Aaly-hibrahim-qhan. The Qhan then chided Gurgin-qhan a little upon his ill humour and these were his words: "The Navvab-aaly-djah asks advice from his Grand-master of the artillery and it appears that he never transacts business without consulting him. Why then does not the Grand-master of the artillery give such advice as he thinks best for his own honour and for his master's service? These words having somewhat pacified Gurgin-qhan, he turned himself towards Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, and raised both his hands, which he set open against each other. He explained his thought by this comparison or allegory. The Navvab and the English, said he, "stand now in this manner: that is, they are upon a par and on equality and on the same level but the English does not stand firm and chooses to lower his tone a little (and here he sunk his right a little) the other hand will remain where it is and of course higher. If on the contrary his hand remains where it is, the English hand must fall lower and the Navvab will remain with a superiority on his side. As to the rest let His Highness decide as he pleases he the master." The envoys returned to the Navvab with this answer and they reported the whole transaction minutely but this opinion of the General's having put an end to all thoughts about pacification, nothing was thought of now but a rupture and open hostilities. So that Mr Amvatt finding it useless to make any further stay resolved to return and he took his leave. The Navvab at first wanted to keep every one of the English as hostages; at last, after a deal of parley he consented to dismiss them all, under condition that Mr Hay should be detained at Monghyr until Mirza-mahmud-aaly and some other of the Navvab's officers confined at Calcutta, should be released, and upon their way to Monghyr at which time he would release Mr Hay. The latter having consented (and this consent of his became in the sequel the cause of his death) Mr Amvatt and the others obtained leave and went down the river in their boats.

14 THE MURDER OF AMVATT

The circumstances of Amvatt's murder are still involved in obscurity. The diaries give us one account the *Notes of Mr Taylor* gives us another. Firdausi Mirza, the translator of the *Notes of Mr Taylor* may be trusted.

What I think of this narrative of our author is but that he was the first of the race of artists, or possibly wrote this narrative some years later. The Navvab's order being to send Amvatt with his relatives to Monghyr Mahmediaky-qhan took himself to the following apartment, to execute the command with ease and with out tumult. Being then accompanied by the English but seen Mirza-mahmud and Casimkhan as soon as the boats were despatched, he sent his friend and steward, Aga 'Isa to invite Amvatt to his entertainment. Amvatt excused himself, and continued pushing the mill of the stream. Another message was sent by a person of still greater consequence who represented, that the entertainment being really the General would think himself aggrieved by the disappointment. Amvatt, being again excused himself the envoy returned; and on his landing the boat-men were banded from shore and ordered to bring to. This order was

Knor but the majority did not approve of the appointment." (Letter from Bengal, dated 20th August 1760 paras 30 and 61) He was in Calcutta at the time of its siege and capture, in 1760 but appears to have been on board one of the ships, on professional duty at the time of the Governor's flight. On 8th December 1757 he was appointed Mayor of Calcutta for the ensuing year. In a letter dated 1st September 1760 he resigned his Surgeoncy at Calcutta; after which he was appointed Surgeon to the Patna Agency. He greatly distinguished himself during the war in Behar both in the action at Masempur on 9th February 1760 and in the subsequent siege of Patna. (Broome *History of the Bengal Army* Vol. I pp. 281-283, and p. 297 these services are also mentioned in the *Sar-i-Malahira* translation Vol. III pp. 340 and 350) Fullerton was taken prisoner with the other English Officers there when Patna was captured by Nawab Kasim Ali in 1763 and was the only man spared, when all the rest perished in the Patna massacre (Broome, p. 39., also *Sar-i-Malahira* Vol. II p. 508) Subsequently he fell into bad odour with the Government. Two letters from Bengal, dated 16th January 1761 paragraphs 6-8 and 30th October 1760 paragraphs 85-93 speak of him unfavourably.

Mr Fullerton, formerly Surgeon, has been of late Wandoomar associate. He has always been at the head of a party and has now taken his passage home in the *Latham*. He is suspected of encouraging the correspondence to promote the dissolution of the Burdwan Raj. Mr Fullerton is a great loss to Society and the Company's Service so much is said of him that he may not on any account be suffered to return. In spite of having taken his passage in the *Latham*, he remained in India at least up to March 1766. The actual charge against him appears to have been as follows.—Wandoomar wrote to F. J. Bulwant Sing and Bughra Khan to arrest him with the English. General Carnac wished Wandoomar to be removed from the Nawab's service. Fullerton acted as interpreter on enquiry held into Wandoomar's conduct, knew of this letter and did not mention it. He appears to have been censured only for a letter from him is extant in the Calcutta Record Office dated 1st March 1766 in which he answers the censure passed on him in the Council of 14th February 1766. This is the last definitely dated mention of Fullerton which I know of. He appears to have been on terms of intimate personal friendship with Syed Aslam Khan, the author of the *Sar-i-Malahira*, who constantly refers to this friendship in the second volume. In Vol. III p. 7 he mentions Fullerton for the last time.

In an article on "Surgeons in India—Past and Present" which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* for July 1851 I find an extract from a letter written by Dr Anderson "of the Infantry" to his friend Dr D. Vinson and with this passage this Introduction may well close.

"Since my last Excellence has been completely defeated, and in consequence obliged to retreat to Jaffer Khan's (Jalar Khan's) gardens, yesterday and proposes coming into the city this day (9th October 1763) Sumroo, with his servants arrived here last night, and I off to effect his wicked designs. Mr Kelly and forty-three gentlemen with him were massacred and an equal number of soldiers, and no yet remain. I expect my fate next night. Dear D. this is no surprise to me for I expected it all along. I must, therefore as a dying man, request of you to collect and send my estate home as soon as possible and write a comforting letter to my father and mother; let them know I die bravely as a Christian ought, and for I fear not him that kills the body and no more but I rejoice in hope of future existence through the merits of my Saviour."

37 It is to be seen that the first massacre took place on October 5th.

42 E.L.

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The Diaries of
Three Surgeons of Patna,
1763.

The Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna 1763.

THE DIARY OF SURGEON
ANDERSON

June 2nd—Being the anniversary of the Battle of Blenheim we all dined at the Factory when I was enabled to observe by the faces of the gentlemen that somewhat of importance was on the carpet: for our council had been sitting and orders were issued out for the guards to be relieved by the Europeans, and the captain to meet the Commanding Officer at his quarters at 8 in the evening. It seems the gentlemen of the factory had the address of Mr. Amoyat's agent at Mowpther being broken off and a day appointed for his departure, also that a strong detachment of horse and foot, to the number of 3000, with 12 guns were on the March to Patna so that a war seemed inevitable, they thought it best to strike the first stroke by possessing themselves of the city of Patna. However they were willing to wait for certain orders from Mr. Amoyat; accordingly the 24th at night

June 24th—In consequence of that advice, orders were given to attack the city next morning

THE DIARY OF SURGEON PETER
CAMPBELL

June 23rd 1763—This day I dined at the Factory with most of the officers, etc., a commemoration of the battle of Blenheim (sic) when I observed by the private confidences of Messrs. Ellis, Carstairs etc., that the public embroils, which have been long threatened, prepared to be coming sea to a crisis, which made me take considerable pains to stay at home, which I thought I was safe to stay longer in the city; he told me for that night I may, but no longer and invited me out to his garden.

June 24th. This morning I employed myself in settling matters with my Azyas and getting my things sent out to Captain Carstairs, I dined at the Factory where the gentlemen kept everything very private arrived Carstairs about 4 o'clock; upon inquiry of him I understood that they intended attacking the city to-morrow morning but he had just received advice from Mr. Ellis, wherein he mentioned he had received intelligence by the *caissa* that Mr. Amoyat had been entertained by the Nabob with a *noted* and came home highly pleased; therefore he thought their intentions of attack should be deferred till he heard from Mr. Amoyat himself which he expected that evening and should then give him

SURGEON FULLARTON'S NARRATIVE
OF THE PROCEEDINGS
AT PATNA

(Retrieved and read in Council the 10th
December 1763)

From the 17th of the month of June preparations of war were carried on with great vigour on both sides. At night Ali Cawn who governed the city was employed in repairing the ramparts, clearing the ditch and posting troops on the walls and doubling all the guards to the westward of the city. The Factory walls were likewise repaired the ditch was cleared, and the 24 pounders were mounted; the terrace top of the Factory house, which was all round, fortified with sand bags, and two 3-pounders were mounted there.

June 24th.—About 10 o'clock at night on the 24th, the Mr. Ellis sent for me from the hospital, and ordered that the sick might be embarked in boats and carried over to the sand opposite to the city and from thence tracked up, and crossed over to the Factory. My orders were to embark at 2 o'clock in the morning (that being the hour appointed for the attack of the city).

imined the notice. Between 8 and 9 a message arrived that the Fudlewe of the Vibob to proceed to Cileu on the 21st; wherefore he ordered the attack should be made on the morning as they formerly agreed. Most of the officers supplied with Carabuz and I came into the Factory between eleven and twelve and found all the gentle men making all preparation for the attack.

June 23d — The army moved from Brinkapore at 2 o'clock in the morning, and they judged in the factory that the army would reach the city before 1. Accordingly, about a quarter to 4, we heard a firing, upon which a party of sepoy's, which was stationed on the top of the factory house, was ordered to keep up a constant fire upon the rampart of the wall next the factory, and two 3 pounders, which was *(sic)*, also there, were ordered to play away upon the same rampart, and the two 24 pounders below kept up an incessant fire till daylight (all this period a very little rain was returned from the city, as I believe there were all asleep when attacked). We now observed all the walls lined with our colours and a report which to be sure, in our situation, was very agreeable and every minute furnished us with the agreeable news of every thing going before us, in short by 9 we were confidently assured that we were in possession of every part, then our great folks, in to look into the administration of the province, persons who were issuing to the shopkeepers to continue their former obedience in sending in provisions, etc., to the city, as for the 10000 muskets were coming in plenty to the Chief, and 100000 in the face of everybody. The wine etc., were sent in to the officers to refresh them, a number of wounded men were now coming in of the city which employed Messrs. Buchanan, Anderson, and Elford the city, surprised how pleased that we had not as yet got possession of the Killa, and by 12 was confirmed. At 12 o'clock Captain's and Birch came to the factory, and announced us that we were beat on of the city, and that it was not in their power to take any more wind, which was the case, for by

June 25th — which was accordingly executed, and with the sick, which consisted of 23 Europeans, got safe to the Factory about 9 o'clock in the morning. At half an hour before one, the troops under the command of Captain Crasturs marched from the Cantonments in two divisions, and Captain Crasturs having sent 50 sepoy's, 25 to each of the grand roads at 11 the night of the 24th June, to take everybody that might pass that way till the arrival of the troops. They took 50 prisoners, great many of whom were *Paravandis*, by which means they had not the least intelligence in the city, the first commanded by Captain Crasturs, consisting of 150 Europeans, Captain Tabby's battalion of sepoy's, and five Companies of Captain Wilson's, the second division consisted of 50 Europeans, Captain Turner's battalion of sepoy's and two guns. The first division, with the scaling ladders, came down the great Western Road, the second came through the town right down to the West Gate and there remained under cover. The first division planted their ladders near the south west bastion of the city, they mounted and got in with little opposition and little loss, they marched down along the walls to the west gate, which they opened (our guns and small arms keeping a constant fire from the factory upon the city), and the second division and the guns came in. Lieutenant Dawkins who commanded in the factory with three companies of sepoy's, a little after our troops had got the possession of the west gate, stormed the Barbar Gate, got in with little loss, and marched through the killa, partly by the riverside, partly by the lanes near the river. Captain Tabby with his battalion went round her

walls and drove the enemy from them, posting his own guards as he went and came to the east gate. By the time both our divisions had got into the city *Mirza Ali* had taken the Governor, had intelligence of it and collected a body of horse and gendarmes, and marching down the main street he met Captain Carstairs with Captain Turner's sepoy Europeans and guns. He fired the streets, and filled the lanes, and the tops of the houses of both sides. Captain Parry and Lieutenant Wilson were both killed. Captain Carstairs and *Wilson* were wounded, 30 Europeans killed and wounded with a number of sepoys. But our grape and our heavy were so warm that they retired and *Mirza Ali* with the rest of the Commanders went out by the east gate of the city and took the road towards *Fatwa*. Our troops marched to the east gate after them and there met Captain Tabby who had just arrived having come round the walls. The east gate was hurriedly shut, the bridge leading into it broken down and the sepoys went along the walls to the river side, and took possession of the only gate remaining in the hands of the enemy called the *water gate*. After this, several men passed between Captain Carstairs and Mr. Ellis, and everything seemed to be over. About 9 o'clock Carstairs came to the factory with several of the officers. At ten we heard firing in the hills and the gentlemen went to the fort, the firing continued and increased. One *Lal Singh* a *junadar* of foot, who had his women in a house in the hills, did not choose to leave them, so retired into his house with thirty men and remained quiet till some of our sepoys began to plunder his houses. He then in defence of his women drove them out; there were likewise about 200 men who retired themselves to a large house near the hills, called *Chahalastun Lal Singh*, after having driven the sepoys from his house, fired on the sepoys that were posted on the walls of the hills near his house, and sent a message to *Mirza Ali* Cawn, who with the rest of the principal commanders had got the length of the *Fatwa* bridge, to drive the English out

all accounts less than a hundred men drove our whole army out, and this sad misfortune was entirely owing to the plundering of our sepoys and soldiers, which turned the courage into a snare, and everyone of them thought of nothing but scolding off with what they got. By 3 o'clock the scattered army returned into the factory. Our army consisted as follows:—

Europeans, half re & and file .. 47
Artillery .. 19

66 .. 198

British officers

Seapoys .. 500

Total .. 2,698

Returned from the attack

Europeans half re & and file .. 4
Artillery .. 14

56 .. 118

Seapoys .. 1,200

Total .. 1,358

Europeans killed, wounded, and missing .. 35
Artillery killed, wounded, and missing .. 6
Seapoys wounded .. 100
Do. killed .. 150

Total .. 291

Officers killed

Captain Parry .. Lieutenant McDonald,
Lieutenant Downey .. Artillery Lieutenant, died.

sepoys were dispersed and plundering so that scarce one hundred could be got together. *Ferry* was quite fatigued, but he marched through thick wood, and had no refreshment when near a creek, about 120 of the enemy entered the hill and drove some sepoys who were there before them. The Europeans and other sepoys seeing this, followed their example, and so scarce looked back till they got to the factory; a party of Marquet's sepoys who belonged to the detachment sent to reinforce the city arrived within some grass soon after and began to fire on the factory house. They ended this in happy affair and not without great loss and effusion of blood. The enemy must have a fierce march but can give no particulars. Our loss lies as follows:—

1 killed—Captain *Ferry* .. Lieutenants *Wilson*, *McDonald*, and about eight Europeans wounded—Captains *Carstairs*, *Wilson*, *Parry*, 10 Europeans and 200 sepoys.

It was a bloody and desecrated, but mostly the latter and I believe loaded with plunder one thousand sepoys with different in properties. Last two field pieces which could not be brought off. Our horse force consisted of 150 Europeans, a rank and file 40 Artillery, 2,200 sepoys.

At 10 o'clock the guard for the gardens was called in, and arrived soon after. After this disaster the command was called, in which the Captains were desired to attend that they might consist of what was best to be done in our present circumstances. Various were the opinions on this occasion. First the factory being too small and fully provided with provisions and firewood for 1,200 sepoys and 200 Europeans besides we must have expected to have been entirely shut up with the fresh troops which would have come from *Mongheer*, therefore to defend it was thought to be no purpose. Second, to take boats and proceed by water to *Calcutta*, but as

The great desire in the Sepoys is owing to their desertion with the plunder. After this melancholy accident everybody was greatly nonplussed what was the most prudent step to be taken, (as in such cases) numbers of schemes were proposed, and none could determine what was the most advisable, at last it was fixed to proceed to Sujid Daul's province, but a great difficulty arose in the procuring of boats. At last with much trouble there were collected as many as we thought would do, and agreed to set off the next morning

of the city Mindirly Cawn met at Purya with Alum Cawn, too horse, 20 camels loaded with fine arrows sent from Mongheer for hisarrison, just at the time of his receiving Lal Simha's message. We immediately returned, and by the way picked about 1,000 horse and foot that were living from the city. At the same time that Lal Simha sent to Mindirly Cawn, he sent likewise to the Chhatrasun, and told those men men that were there that he had still defended that part of the *Killa* and desired their assistance. About fifty of them came to him by a small passage from the Chhatrasun to the *Killa*, and there they defended themselves till near 12 o'clock, when Mindirly Cawn arrived about this time our soldiers were employed in plundering the town and little order or obedience to their officers was observed, nor could a sufficient body of them be got together to make a stand, so that Mindirly Cawn met with little resistance in driving all our troops out of the city. As our people went along, they met with enemies every where the sepoy's who had concealed themselves in the different houses, upon hearing of the Nabob's return, sallied out everywhere and fired on them, so that, at about 3 o'clock, they arrived at the Factory in the utmost confusion, having lost in the retreat Lieutenant Reed of the Artillery, Lieutenant Downie of the sepoy's and Lieutenant Perry wounded. Several attempts were made by the officers to rally both the sepoy's and the Europeans, but to no purpose, it was generally imagined that great part of the sepoy's were gone off with the plunder they had got, and that night, at a muster, there were only about 170 Europeans and 1,200 sepoy's to be found. The confusion of such a number of troops with the sick and wounded in so small a place at the Factory must be easily imagined, and this evening about sunset the city was almost entirely enveloped by fire, 2,500 sepoy's and two hundred some horse, who that night began to ply us with rockets from the walls and corners of the Factory from the west side. Messrs Greenlee and Pickering were called in for the Cantonment, where they had been left with some sepoy's.

June 26th.—In the morning the fire from the city increased, and the confusion within was greater. Early in the morning Mr Ellis sent for me and ordered me to go over to the sand opposite to the Factory with 500 speys and collect all the boats I could get. The fire was very warm both from the Factory and the city all the day. About 12 o'clock I was ordered to proceed with what boats I had collected to Phalera Ghat. About 3 o'clock upon the river and there to remain for further orders. At three o'clock the afternoon I was ordered to get the boats ready for transport. The troops ordered to the S. R. Saran could try as soon as possible. At ten at night they arrived, in number about 700 Europeans and 1,000 speys with a howitzer. Our troops on leaving the Factory set fire to the gunge and all the large boats at Phalera Ghat. The Factory to hinder the Europeans' approach, and an officer with 30 Europeans remained in the Factory half an hour after the main body marched off. I brought up the rear with the baggage. It was the fire from the city was so warm that the coolies and lascars threw most part of the ammunition down and deserted, so that only seven barrels of musket ammunition were saved and the speys and Europeans had only 12 rounds a man.

June 27th.—About daylight in the morning the troops got all to the other side of the river to halt there for Mr Lamberton, who had embarked from the Factory with the Company's treasure in small packages. He arrived at 10 o'clock with only the loss of one boat, which was sunk by the enemy's shot at the Factory ghat. A little before sunset we marched from Phalera Ghat to Raipat, being four *cos*, where the army got no provisions, but a little rice the country people being afraid to supply us on account

June 28th.—The morning a very brilliant cannonade was kept up by both sides and the city of Hyderabad mounted 6-pounders of ours which fell to the ground. We had two or three killed. The whole day a constant fire was continued, every thing was getting ready for our departure by evening it could be done. I was very confused in my mind they found it impracticable to carry any guns the reason I don't know but we carried on howbeit but no help the reason of that I do not know, both of which we expected afterwards would have been of the utmost consequence to us. Our treasure amounted to pretty near a lakh; that was shipped off but by some means went our boat that part of it was put on shore as he was setting off and it was difficult to load which obliged them to throw some of it overboard, so that there was deficient 20,000 rounds the first night. We carried only 25 barrels of ammunition which we found not to be half sufficient for the work we met with afterwards. About 9 o'clock Captain Tabby was sent out with his battalion to draw up on the sand opposite the French factory to cover our retreat. Afterwards Mr Ellis with some of the clerks and your humble servant came off and got a company of Tabby's speys, and marched in the boats, which was about four or five *cos*, and to our great mortification did not find them at the place we imagined them to have been. The Europeans left the Factory about eleven, and then our whole shattered army proceeded, and fort sadly fell in with us. We were in our dilemma about the boats.

June 29th.—We all proceeded up the river and at about three found the boats, and immediately began to embark, and was not complete till ten. We halted at a village on the opposite side and rested till five, and marched in the morning and halted on the road for the remainder of the night. Most of the boats proceeded up the river with the wounded Europeans, Lady Hope, Howell, Doctors Fullerton and Anderson, came with us.

July 1st.—This morning we began to cross as quick as possible and without conclusion but before one-third were over a large boat blew down so that the boats could not cross. In the meantime, those that had crossed were alarmed by a body of boats coming to attack them. They beat to arms got the boats ready and advanced 200 or 300 yards to be clear of the village, and so waited for them, but they thought proper to keep at a distance. About ten, the weather turned fair and wind moderate, so that on the afternoon every-

July 2nd.—About five, we began to cross as quick as possible and without conclusion but before one-third were over a large boat blew down so that the boats could not cross. In the meantime, those that had crossed were alarmed by a body of boats coming to attack them. They beat to arms got the boats ready and advanced 200 or 300 yards to be clear of the village, and so waited for them, but they thought proper to keep at a distance. About ten, the weather turned fair and wind moderate, so that on the afternoon every-

of the Pheudars (Kam Nidi) being in arms to oppose us. Mr Ellis ordered me to take charge of the treasure with all the boats, and allotted for their guard one company of sepoy, the boat had a fine wind and sailed all night.

June 27th.—At daybreak we marched about one mile, and reached a village, where we halted and rested till 10. We found in the Pheudars house plenty of rice, which we used the liberty to carry along with us, and some curries, billocks. We marched about five miles and found our boats at this village and halted for the night.

June 28th.—At half past ten this morning we marched and our boats proceeded up. We reached Chiphra about 8. A few of us stopped at our battery house and found about three dozen of different liquors, which was a most agreeable variety, as we had not been able to drop along with it. We found also some turke and other things. We proceeded on about a mile further, and halted at a large, decent inn and got some breakfast and rice for our people. We were then led and under arms two or three, different times, if a party of horse was near us. We collected at the Pheudars one Regiment had reached about 1000 troops and 200 horse. We reached it, and halted at a place about four or five miles. Captain Turner, who had the rear guard, informed us that just as he left the inn, a party of the enemy's horse took possession of the place, and kept a good look out. We had a messenger from our boats to inform us that a party of the enemy's force had been seen at a place, and that they had taken two of their small boats, and, indeed, two sepoy that

June 29th.—The boats were fired on from the opposite side of the country by Shmroo, who was then preparing to cross the river to attack the boats. When they arrived at Chirind where the boats lay for them, they had rested the night of the 27th at Rupali, being four miles from Phalee, and from Rupali to Chirind were five

June 29th.—The army proceeded to Ajubganj, they were discontented for want of provisions the day before this being a village of the Company's they got some rice, the boats were moored before the company marched, reinforced by Lieutenant Armstrong with another company of sepoy. We had heard that Nulgram was coming to fight with us with 3000 horse and 5000 foot.

were wounded in the fray came to us, which made us cry as loud about them as they had both our treasure and our ammunition, but notwithstanding we did not endeavour to join them, though even-ling which proved afterwards very unfortunate.

June 30th.—Got under way but made a bad haul of it, the fire was but very strong in this river, but obliged us to put to the other shore, where we discovered with a mile of us four hundred of colours and some boats which being instead of colours and some boats which being put into the stream, and, we were taken another boat broke our ruler. We were taken into tow by two big boats, which were a great labour brought to the ground we left at the men of. Here we pitched upon a stand in a well as we could and were greatly assisted in it by the three who came in this place for that purpose. We observed several of the men, but a rest from us, and heard of the Somers, with four or five companies of sepoy, did hear four guns being fired over the boats in order to join Hamdani the I boudier of the country who has got together about 3000 horses and foot in order to oppose us. We tracked up to the fleet with great difficulty for we had nearly erected two or three times. When we joined them, had the agreeable news of our having defeated Hamdani that morning and killed about 200 of his people. About evening had an account of Somers's having joined him and that he had engaged a thousand of our troops. The place we now lay at is as usual opposite to the spot end of which our people are now encamped, but the air was too strong for us to be able to get round to them. Their fore-hauler informed Mr Ellis of it, we are ordered to proceed to the lower end in the morning when they will march down to us. About 400 men horse had food as on the opposite shore attended our motions, but they have only one boat.

June 30th.—We had no alarm all night we marched at 3, scarcely could find anybody to be our guide as our chief officers and servants had mostly left us on their own to get to boats. We crossed a nulla which was better than the river. Dore and marched between them. About 7 o'clock we approached the shore ahead a stand of red colour, which we took to be some house, but upon coming near we found there were a boat or two with them. Immediately Captain T. boy's battalion stretched to the right to get between them and the nulla, but they took to the nulla, and most of them were drawn to the shore. Three we took prisoners but could find nothing from them. If we proposed half of the we brought up our rear as we were with a view of our intended embarkation, but presently we heard a firing in the rear and upon coming we found the enemy advancing immediately the rear got up, and we beat to arms and marched back to meet the enemy; they appeared to be about 2000 and 200 boats. Our men seemed in good spirits and marched on very eagerly and on the first onset the enemy were broke and took to their heels. We pursued them about a mile and burnt two small villages the way to dislodge them in case they were there they took to the lake and we made a halt. We reckoned that we killed about 200. Don't our stay was so long that they could not track up to the place late dead, so it was agreed they should come down to the end of the lake. It divides the river Dore here into two branches, which was almost opposite to us according to that account was sent them. About 2 in the afternoon the enemy from the lake began to fire upon a party of our sepoys that was in small boats, which they with a two-pounder but we in joined it was correct, their red coat but, at about three we were ordered for they began to draw off

June 30th.—We marched from Aljibganj to Manpara fire coast. The boats came up within a rest of the camp into the Dabwa river but it was with great difficulty we being obliged to track. Nidiram came and was defeated with no loss on our side, but about 200 of his men killed. The day a boat that fell in the rear was taken, a havidar and eight sepoys was in it three of them were killed the rest joined, but without their arms. Nidiram went up ards Chopra, a few days where he met Shirmoo with three battalions of sepoys and eight pieces of cannon and a large body of horse sent from Manpara after us. Shirmoo made Nidiram return but we had so intelligence of them our Amcarnahad all deserted, and none of the country people would come near us.

the 7th, and began a pretty brisk cannonade, that we were obliged to call in the party of sepoy's that was with them, and presently they began to fire from the opposite side of the *Nullah*, and a squad of Armenian coolies was sent up there, which made us understand that they had been joined by one *Hyman* (an Armenian) who commanded in the first sepoye company. We got under arms, and waited to see whether they would advance, but they kept their ground and continued their cannonade most of the afternoon. In the evening Mr Fletcher, with the principal officers he'd a council of war to see what the most prudent step to be taken, the purpose of which I understood to be, that we ought to be upon the defensive, as our principal design was to cover our boats, and that it would be time enough to fight when we had them with us, accordingly it was resolved to keep our ground all night and march at two in the morning to join our boats and embark.

July 11th.—At two we marched, stretching down the side of the river till we came to the end of the island, and halted. At break of day, we saw some of our boats coming round the island, it was agreed to embark the sepoy women and children first to the island. About six we spy'd the enemy marching out of the 7th, making their front towards us (the *Nullah* was then between us and them). Our embarkation began about seven, and to our great surprise found numbers of sepoy's wanted to go off with the baggage, and with great difficulty could restrain them, presently the enemy began to cannonade, and kept up a very brisk one with it till five or six pieces of cannon, but did no mischief, the first shot was. We got our boats afloat, and was in one of the boats about thirty or thirty-five. Our resolution was to keep our ground on the bank of the river till evening, and if they advanced then to give them a brisk attack, as we had not ammunition to risk two attacks. About ten, or eleven of the eight boats of Armenian coolies, of the river that the cannon was directed only to set off for the island, and the Armenian coolies about in the evening, the 12th of the Christians soon followed.

July 11th.—The army came to the banks of the *Dahra*, a cross from where they lay at *Mangore*, the *Dahra* formed three streams at this place, our boats got into the middle one, and could not pass through for want of water, they were half a mile from the army and were ordered down to the place where the three streams met, the army likewise moved this morning and in marching off, the picket of 100 sepoy's lost their way and had a warm scuffle with part of Shimroo's guards. Only the *Sahadur* and 35 sepoy's with the colours got to us. About 8 o'clock we were surrounded by Shimroo with three battalions of sepoy's, eight pieces of cannon, a body of about 10,000 horse and foot, *Yidirim* included two of Shimroo's battalions had European arms, and one country matchlocks. On their approach orders were sent for the 200 sepoy's that had been left to guard the boats to join us. We got the powder landed and prepared to receive them, they came within 200 yards and began to cannonade us. There was a *Nullah* about 500 yards in our front, but little water in it and a small bank in front of our line, behind which we were drawn up. The enemy did not seem much inclinable to attack us but kept a brisk fire from their artillery and journals. About 10 o'clock, it

[illegible]

as ma y wounded. Sir Ed's had retort ed, it
was a fine attack the enemy the enemy
a fine cross to the d, and there to
the battle side, where had not also a
to march out of the front. In the enemy
was being by Captain Tabby who commanded
and most of the other officers, it would be
my patriotic bile to attack the enemy with
present disposition, more especially they had
they had lost one third of the transports, so that
the present force could not exceed 20,000 men,
where the Europeans, which were about 100,
settle the military. What they were doing
was on the matter they were informed by the
being in motion and were on them
We were. The party of the enemy who
rightly matched and joined the main body who
addressed and kept firing from the artillery
when they came to a proper distance. The
battering of the enemy's flag, but we could not
obtain a flag by fire from the ship, only a
first, and the command of the enemy's
they cut to the ship about, which threw every
thing to the utmost confusion, and everybody
sought their safety in flight. Some swam to the
boat and brought the most valuable news. The
boat people were terrified by the numbers who
came pressing on them and put off to a small
distance, where we found Captain Garcia, Captain
We were, Dr Campbell and myself, E. J. Ann
strong and McK. We had swam to the island to
come off to us with two solders, and some five
a gentleman, a servant and three or four sepoys
a women, six children and the command
observed many boats going off and knew not what
to do for the best. To escape was impossible,
therefore we resolved we were already suffi-
ciently full of people to proceed down the river,
possible, and so to surrender ourselves as prisoners
to the British. According to our plan, and on
the 24th. The people, who was the rear of our
army, were baffled and fled at two or three times,
but could not be of going to the shore, else the
French would certainly have sunk the boat. We
went down as softly as possible in order to avoid

was determined that we should attack them; and Mr Ellis, being much fatigued and somewhat out of order, came down to the boats and ordered someone to go to be sent up to the men. A little while after, Captain Carlin was mortally wounded with a ball, and the command I led on. Captain Tabby. Our people were not allowed to go on shore on account of the great scarcity of ammunition and the enemy being in the rear and in the rear, but very slowly. At three in the afternoon a company of thirty men came down to the boats of the *Walrus* and lay behind them and kept a warm fire of musketry. They all after this moved down by degrees and used to stop when they saw a man and then moved again. Our troops were much fatigued for want of provisions, a delay exposed to a warm fire all day. About half an hour after sunset the fire increased and they began to ply us with musketry. The *Walrus* and attacked on all sides. About 8 o'clock at night, the Europeans broke and fled; the reports stood the ground level, a warm fire upon the enemy killed the remainder. A cannon was pointed when they knew gave way. Lieutenant Pickens and Crafts, both of the *Porpoise*, were killed and the rest of the gentlemen that were in the field were taken either that night or next morning. The boat where Mr Ellis was, during the fire ceased and some of the officers, that could swim, crossed the branch of the river (for the boats lay on an island) opposite to where the action was put off and got into the river. Messrs. Ellis flew off and got into Captain Joeh's thought proper to write to Nid, in an attempt to send some of his people to conduct them to Tana to Mindily Cawn, and it was likewise determined that Mr Ellis should write to Mindily Cawn desiring that he should send orders for the conduct of him and the gentlemen safe there. About ten at night, I was sent with a letter to Mindily Cawn in a small *dingee*.

Abdalla's), taking the populace at Patna might be too much *crushed* it, and not so safe for us; secondly we arrived at Iladg poor n er About 1 of a sc t a serra t s here to the Phonsudar acquainted m s were come to deliver ourselves; he soon returned with some of the principal people, and acquainted s th t the Phonsudar was then at Patna, but he had a son who acted in his absence. We were conducted cry ci ly by these people to him and he received s very kindly after taking our leave, sent us refreshments. L. Carstia s cont such to grow worse every hour.

July 3 d.—The Phonsudar arrived from Patna late at night; sent for Captain W. Lee, sent us to him, he himself kindly sent a stand, got for Captain Carstia, and appointed a house for him to be a horse, as his wounds began to mortify and very off n va to s n the boat p evaled upon him to go a horse about 12 at 3 he died. We applied for coffin and *deceases* to make a grave; they were soon furnished and we interred the corpse about 6, n the most decent manner we could. This evening we received a *cliff* from Fullerton, who had delivered himself up to the Nabob at Patna, he acquainted s that he was most gratefully treated, and advised us to come over. We were then informed by the Phonsudar that there was an order for going to Patna, which was agreeable to us.

July 4th.—This morning we were in great expectations of the Phonsudar's coming, to carry us to Patna, but we heard nothing of him till about 3, when his son arrived to take an inventory of all our *deceases*. We were a little uneasy to find we did not go to Patna this evening, but we were assured that he would be with us in the morning to carry us over.

July 5th.—At 2, the Phonsudar came down and settled with us. We arrived about 11 opposite to our factory when we were hailed by the seapoys to bring in; there the Phonsudar asked us whether we thought to go (Mr. Scott an 'Armenian, commanded them), but we insisted on going to the Nabob; it seems they are obliged to carry us to the highest

Iladg poor n er s reader counsel us, as we are not in a state of treatment there than from the people of Patna who were blithely incensed. Besides Phonsudar being a brother of Mr. Abdalla's, might use us better on that score. We put about. (About noon, we arrived at Iladg port, and were very kindly received by the Phonsudar's son.)

5th July.—Poor Carstia died on shore; his mail box s that had been provided for him. We had a coffin made and had him buried as decreed by s circumstances would allow. The same day had a *cliff* from Doctor Fullerton, who advised us to come over to Patna, told us we would meet with a gentle breeze from the Sebub.

11th July.—Had our effects taken account of, and were taken to Patna next day. Our treatment here very easy, he signed a present to us sent us from the Phonsudar, but had our hands and feet very troublesome for 2 days, which we find best to say. Heard from the Phonsudar that our money had increased, that Mr. Amy had gone down, but Mr. Hay and another gentleman I consulted at Monghyr.

12th July.—Our Phonsudar with our guard accompanied us over to Patna. We landed at the A. 1/2, and we brought to the Durbar when we were kindly received by Ally Mide Caw, and had ourselves brought to a plenty after going as *Armenian*. We were shown to our apartment under the care of Mirza Cawel, a near

in command if we choose it. The Phoustar left it to our choice. Accordingly, we proceeded, and soon after our arrival, were brought up from the boats, attended by a party of scapboys, to the Durbar in the *Killa*. This was very gently received by the Governor. Upon breaking up of the Durbar, a very good dinner served us up. Presently afterwards was shown our apartments, which were under the care of a near relation of the Governor, who entertained us in the most obliging, complimentary manner imaginable, the most polite necessary that we might want he did not forget. In the evening he invited us to his own apartment, and treated us with very good arrack and a *chutney*. Just before supper, we were informed that an order was arrived for our settling out for a longer period, and we were ordered to get ourselves in readiness to set off directly, which gave us great uneasiness, as we were very much obliged, but by the intercession of our friend who kept us, it was put off till the morning.

Friday — It is a fact, as our friends were in the boats, and as we set off about 7 in our *Bullocks* and two guard boats with 50 Chin men were conducted to the water side by our friend. At first we set off, our guard seemed as if they would be very troublesome by lashing their boats on each side of our *Bullocks*, and fastening the windows the Governor sent us a dressed *Kut*, breakfast, and our baggage. We reached this evening at *Bhar*.

Saturday — We in the morning of day. Our friend was a little disappointed that before we enter in the morning, we was a *chutney*, and a *chutney*, which they make a very good *chutney*. We reached in the evening at *Nagb*, where our guard had already been and the *chutney* was made.

Sunday — Mr Ellis with the rest of the gentlemen were brought to *Patna*. I petitioned the *Nahob* to be sent to them, or be suffered to see them both of which were refused.

Notes.—This morning no appearance of our cure off, which surprised us. In the afternoon we received a hint from Harris and Johnstone regarding it, that they were confined in the pit in a dirt, house, and very indifferently treated, allowed half a penny rice per man a day. We endeavoured to write them an answer, and send them some money, but could not find our servant afterwards. About 7 the *far* *sewa* comes with rice or six *minies* or rather coconuts, carry it up but our Jamedar sent one of his people and prevailed about a dozen of terrible

men. Upon getting up this morning, I was greatly alarmed with a violent pain in my instep (my foot called it) but no cause for it, until I saw Dr. Anderson's head who lay just at my feet. It is a pretty heavy, it was really believed to be the cause by lying on it for so, our *minies* were all on board, and we at 10. got up by evening about six o'clock, the pain of my instep increased to a violent degree, before evening was fully satisfied that it was owing to Dr. Anderson's head but rather appeared to be a touch of it, which I am very

glad to see. We got into our way early, reached the station of Roor Valley by evening the next morning my foot still continues, which prevents all doing but this it is the best spoke to me of our *minies*, who are watching them, I have taken care to watch the Valley, if they are that way and I have had taken care they are otherwise with Mr. F. L. at all times. We were very busy to find a house, which I think is the best that we are sent up to in the Valley. I shall be able to tell you more of it.

step for the night about a *coss* below Kunalia on the opposite shore.

Monday, July 15th.—Got landing was for us with a fine island, and the current being too strong without it, we crossed the river again, by which we drove a cart back, and had great danger and difficulty, tracking up to R in the stream very strong and the banks fell in pretty frequently, passing the *grills*, we observed three *elephants* with about 2,000 horses and foot crossed on boats on the way to Mongher. The afternoon, being with a large flood, we had a fair wind and smooth water with rain with a *coss* of Derripu where we were brought to for the night.

Friday July 15th.—We proceeded up the *ganges* at 11 o'clock. At 1 o'clock we arrived at Derripu to drive our *trials*; the meantime three companies of *sappers*, mostly our own who had been sent here on their way to do so. At one o'clock, we put off with a pretty breeze and at sunset reached Moharra, about 2 *coss* below Poonah.

Saturday July 16th.—Early we got under way with a fair wind, but we passed Poonah, at 12 we topped at Har to dress victuals. Here we had a large body of horse and *sappers* onamped with most of our tents, etc., in their The route is for Mongher. At 2 we put off and went a *coss* further.

Sunday July 17th.—We set out early with a brisk wind, which continued all day brought us with a mile of Jaffer Khan's garden at sunset.

Monday July 18th.—Got under way at 5 and arrived at the *khilla* at about 9, when, after waiting 10 hours we were ordered to the Dewa as the Nabob was not at home, who ordered dinner for us. Here we remained until 11 o'clock, when we were sent for by the Nabob, who, as before, received us very kindly ordered chairs for us to sit on, gave a *bed* to Captain Wilson, and told us not to be uneasy for we might look on ourselves at

July 19th.—Nothing remarkable to-day; we advanced about 5 *coss* numbers of the Nabob's *sepoys* and troops on the road going down also several of our taken a *recess*.

July 19th.—Got under way early; advanced by evening as far as Moor within 2 *coss* of Lion creek; my foot a good deal aches with nothing remarkable a scarcity of provisions.

July 20th.—Got under way as usual; advanced by evening as far as Barr. We feasted to day on rice, dahl and ghee.

July 20th.—I was sent down to Mongher and there confined separately from the rest of the gentlemen. As afterwards understood they were all well used, though strictly confined. We had victuals sent us by the Nabob regularly once a day.

July 21st.—Nothing remarkable all this day. Had a fine breeze advanced by evening with a *coss* of Jaffer Khan's garden.

July 22nd.—Arrived at Patna by 10 soon afterwards Captain Wilson was sent for ashore. About 12, we were all sent for; understood that the Governor was at the wet gate. We were received by the Dewa; were kept in a sort of Durbar place, immensely close and hot. Had dinner brought us. The Governor did not come in till about 6 an hour afterwards he sent for us, received us very politely and made us understand we should have every indulgence in his power. He

to feel that it would have a rare and
great impact upon what we were in at
present and provided us with the Dean's bun
dles for the night, which was very cool and
pleasant. He at the same time requested us to
leave the rest of our being sent up here
and was writing to the letter he wrote to the
club wherein he mentioned to him if he had
a companion at Mongheer, he believed he
could be in us to him.

July 7th 1863 - Early in the morning we were bro^{ught} down from the battery to the old apartment, for we were in fairly expectation of our being removed to a proper place allotted to us we thought nothing of it. About 10, in one end of the room where we was, a fire was lighted, which had almost heated us with heat and a smoke it was in the Dewain's vicinities, as he is a German he can't dress in any of the American's cool rooms. Upon a complaining they issued us it should be done no more. We passed this day, very disagreeably, no order for us to go out there from the battery, nor any other, but appointed us the same we understood to be the Dewain's being appointed at our lying in the battery last night. We got a few bottles of wine from the D^{ist} Factory, but our guard considering it, issued upon seeing them, which they did accordingly to the great mortification of some of me a wives. We found we could have no admittance to the Governor this night, and he asked to bear everything patiently.

John 16—We passed a very disagreeable night in a boat here, but we comforted ourselves with the thought that we had passed the day safely, and that we were going to enter for our first cruise. The weather is so variable that every one who enters till we can see the bottom, is plunging or floundering. I told us to get lit down in the yard if it was too

but, we choosed the veranda if he would move his guard from hence, which was done. We had a far more agreeable night than the former: our guard consisted of a Jundia, about 20 gun men and two scapots with sword and bayonet.

July 21st—We paid the last night more comfortable than the former: it was tolerable cool and not so much pestered with bugs. We now gave over expectations of seeing the Governor and were satisfied we should have no more visits got a pack of cards, and amused ourselves with game at which much troubled with fits, and the time hangs very heavy. We are to stay in the veranda as before: I had all our baggage from the *Swaggers*, and find that our boys have stolen 138 Rupees, and added to deliver them up to justice, poor account of our transaction at the Hadg pore; allowed two of them to go away whom we judge to be guilty.

July 22nd—Passed the night tolerably well, find it impossible to be allowed any more or any less than five bottles of the poison on which we got the first day from the Ditch Factory. About 4 in the afternoon we acquainted that we were to be removed to other place and no immediately orders came for our removal which was very agreeable to us. We all set out, and were much surprised when they brought us out of the *Asif* through the street, a spectacle to the whole population about the distance of half a mile landed us at last in a square where the first objects that presented us were two or three rooms, a our situation no greivable sight to us. We were shown our room which had been a storehouse and cleared out this day for our reception, I had entered the floor dog or borrowed with fifty of the holes. I retired but to bed and layed myself down in one of the corners to be free from the gazing of our new companions who were in rooms, and found a small window where I could peep through and contemplated where our said situation began to wash we were in our old apartments again but at last concluded that everything was for the best (on this best of possible worlds, as Mr. Candide observes), and so comforted ourselves presently.

Thus day / July 21st—Nothing remarkable

Friday / July 22nd—In the afternoon, about 4 we were on a sudden removed from our quarters, and on two solders. We were led into the city, and on our way met two Europeans with a guard who told us there were 15 of them come up from Bhangar. We were led through several walled streets and by way to a place where all sorts of prisoners are confined, and, after passing two compounds, we came to a third where we observed, some prisoners in rows, which gave us but and indifferent ideas of the place, more especially as the apartment we were put to wait, quite close dark, and hung with cobwebs. (Some mats were in the part close to the door which were secured and tied down, so that but light and air we had from the door. If it, to all appearances, we had reason to expect but indifferent fire there, but we had not been here an hour before a began to be somewhat better reconciled to, for all our thoughts were sent to us very carefully. We found this a place for state prisoners, and several people of some consequence had been here since Ramaswami's retirement. There about 100 persons as a guard to the prisoners, who allow us to walk all the length of the square, so that we are here more retired and have more liberty.

of the winter, and to our great comfort, and relief, it is, as they had tired very much of the heat and disagreeable. We found this place a place of refuge for some persons and that there was comfort for Rumple's family and all his dependents which was some relief to find that the prisoners were no worse - out of people that had liberty to walk about in the June weather, they had attended, and had ourselves in the morning retired to the place, as our kind friends were so kindly, although at the times we were very sorry that the fair speeches the were now enable that the fair speeches the Governor said as were from motives of true benevolence.

—We had a very agreeable night and on the morning a prison much better than that of our former quarters, passed the day very pleasantly. I did not feel much inclined to visit the prison in the evening to the great regret of her who was to expect me. To know where her we were when we returned from there or not, were then ascertained that we must provide ourselves in advance. As we wanted, I have since from some of the prisoners, who we had to be acquainted with us in our first confinement.

only one. Had a perfect rabbit, and find our new
box very quiet and as acceptable as we
expected. We employed a boy to make it
for a lamp, as the dog had a leg of mutton
and a chicken, weak, etc. for dinner, and a
dish of green peas. I wish to wish it down
we were a little further about it with our keeper
and a little of the refreshment, thinking
that they would be for our use, to be given us
a small rabbit before in a joke how we
shall keep them. But we seem found they were
only eating them to see if they were in good
order.

I used the right as a rule, nothing in the society other than that cut was made, we used a kind of Dutch law, which means a court case, and I go to the judges, and

ered it. Finding the water of liquor our boys smuggled a bottle, but gave us a glass each after dinner and attended to me.

Thursday July 25th.—To-day close and sultry with much rain. The Governor ordered us to have a small return of two bottles of gin which is to be allowed to us. The economy we have established is to drink twice a day dinner at one o'clock and in the evening and sleep at ten. So people have no more. The intervals are filled up with reading, gaming and conversation with our fellow prisoners.

Friday July 26th.—Nothing extraordinary

Saturday July 27th.—Our Jamadar informs us the Nabob has ordered us to send for our provisions to his cook-room as usual. To-day we heard that Mr. Ensign had got safe to Benares, also that the King and Shuja Durrani are come down to Allahabad.

Sunday July 28th.—On sending to-day for our victuals the Commissary said he had not his master's orders, but such means we were disappointed of our dinner.

Monday July 29th.—To-day we sent our servants to the Nabob to request that we might be allowed to send to the Dutch for a little liquor daily as rations had rendered it necessary for our health, also that we might have a daily allowance in money rather than in victuals, as it was not directed in our way both of which he granted, allowing us 4 rupees per day and 1 bottle to bring in two bottles of liquor per day.

Tuesday July 30th.—Nothing remarkable to-day

Wednesday July 31st.—Passed our time as usual, Nicolao continues to smuggle a little gin successfully

Thursday July 1st.—To-day we were informed by our Jamadar that he had orders for us to send our boys to the Governor for victuals; nothing remarkable.

Friday July 2nd.—Early one of our boys went to the Governor for breakfast, but was told there were no orders. We did not go to do anything for dinner, expecting orders would be given by that time, but to our great disappointment we found our mistake, and was obliged to send out to the bazaar for what we could get, and about 4 o'clock we despatched a letter down to the Governor or Commanding Officer.

Saturday July 3rd.—We resolved to send Mr. Nicolao to the Dutch for the error accordingly he set out without our Jamadar and acquainted him we should be glad he would order us an allowance in money for victuals ourselves, and he granted us 4 rupees per day. I knew so we demanded leave for some liquor he allowed us to purchase and use two bottles per day. We are to sign a daily receipt for our money. We had told once a few days ago of our army being at Calcutta, and of having had an engagement with the troops belonging to Muzadabad, and had gained a complete victory having killed several of the principal Jamadars.

July 21st—Very low, runs for these two days. Our first cook has left us, which would have done us much, had it not been for Fingie McKee, who has a thorough knowledge in cookery and has assisted in that office, greatly to our satisfaction for these two days. We had just dined ourselves with another cook. Don Sigurd purchased a case of tin from the Dutch Missionary Serpenter for rupees 30. We propose buying him two or three bottles at a time, according to our allowance, as it comes much cheaper by the bulk in quantity, the great Serpenter being a great Jew, he also sold two knives and forks and two cups and saucers for the small price of rupees 3. Dan Nielsen, being a great politician, brought us from the Dutch Factory news that might be depended upon, that our man was not yet marched from Culebra, but that was only a party that was at Culebra, and that they had a second engagement at Placey with the principal force for Mavridibul, and that the former was only a skirmish with a small party of the latter party was surrounded by a number of their troops, and every man put to the sword, this intelligence was enough.

July 22nd—Dark, terrible conjecture about the arrival of our ships in general, and no very favorable ones about our head matters in particular. As our chief friends, who favour us with a little intelligence, informed us to day that a British sloop went on very successfully, that it was not seen in Culebra, and that a record on our list had been kept of the lower capital, and that we had been killed, so that the whole force, having been killed, we have sent their principal commander, and turned everything, this news we were very ready to believe, which overcasts the fate of Dan Nielsen, and of the capital. We expect that we need of his very soon. His friends are saying that he is dead. Go whether you never heard of it, but I fear that we fetch it, it is a fact.

July 23rd—Dark, terrible conjecture about the arrival of our ships in general, and no very favorable ones about our head matters in particular. As our chief friends, who favour us with a little intelligence, informed us to day that a British sloop went on very successfully, that it was not seen in Culebra, and that a record on our list had been kept of the lower capital, and that we had been killed, so that the whole force, having been killed, we have sent their principal commander, and turned everything, this news we were very ready to believe, which overcasts the fate of Dan Nielsen, and of the capital. We expect that we need of his very soon. His friends are saying that he is dead. Go whether you never heard of it, but I fear that we fetch it, it is a fact.

Compass Cava with all the other Phosphorus and James called a. Bought to-day's bottles of a good Mader a for the rope's per bottle, with one of which we regaled our lads on our good news.

Monday 3rd August.—Got a table and three chairs for Mr. A. also a large one for Mr. B. Thus we are pretty well equipped for eating and drinking Cavan Cava with the remainder of this force, is gone down, and if a battle comes, it will be for bodyguard only remains.

Thursday 6th August.—Nothing extraordinary but are in daily expectation of a battle below.

Friday 7th August.—Nothing extraordinary but a remembrance of a fight at Marzabad.

Saturday 8th August.—Mr. Rousch's boy arrived from Moughier bringing news of Mr. Anyar's he being brought the same time ago that Mr. Chambers and some of the Coos mazar factory are there, also hear that we were thrice repulsed in the attack of the city of Marzabad but the fourth attack carried everything that the old Yabob is declared. ^{the news arrived} brings news of Marzabad being defeated, Somero killed with many elephants and families, that Marzabad gone over to us with 2000 men but I can give no credit to it.

Sunday 9th August.—Nothing extraordinary

the day. The former news we have confirmed with the addition that Meer Jaffar being fortified with our army and that we are in possession of the Capital and that the Governor of it is a nice dead of his wounds. We also hear that Marzabad has stopped at Sattice and can advance no further.

Monday 10th August.—Our news more and more confirmed and that Gungar Cava is getting out of Moughier to join Marzabad. We daily expect of hearing of a decisive stroke being made. Dr. Anderson was a little out of humour to-day and did not eat his dinner as usual, owing to mistake made in describing a house that he and some gentlemen built at Neg-sa (that they had built a house without any doors) he is evidently related to my countrymen I believe, for he seems to have established a malim that it is not right to give up a point.

Tuesday 11th August.—Nothing material to-day save Dr. Anderson was highly offended with me at dinner for wanting to drink out of the cup before he had finished what he calls his allowance of gin.

Wednesday 12th August.—A very fine day, but forbids nothing remarkable in the public or private way.

Thursday 13th August.—No news these two or three days which makes us very anxious; this being a Saturday we commemorated the evening with a couple of bottles of Jaff.

Friday 14th August.—Don Nicolo has picked up a piece of dried gence, which we can give little credit to, that our troops have had an engagement with Marzabad, the Armenians; that they had gained a complete victory. Somero, one of their Com-

myself, killed, and that M'Crete has joined us with a hundred men, but this is only an empty

promise. — The above news still prevails, but no authority. To day the Governor steps in here to see if there was room for some of our prisoners that they were sending up from Monrovia. He did not speak to us. They are put in a apartment in the Chelsea Town. They were taken at Cross Street. They are 23 in number, all men, among whom are Mr Bennett, and one Thompson, who was in Mr McGuire's employ.

August 9th. — We had a line from Mr Bennett, requiring us that he was destitute of every necessity; we sent him Rs 20 they confirm the news of Mr Ayitt's being cut off with seven officers. We have a report that His Excellency at the lower capital has been endeavouring to bring the two Commanders below, and that they have sent him word to send some people of his acquaintance and they would treat with him. We are assuredly informed of Jigit Seth being a confirmed close prisoner at Monrovia. Don Nicolas last news is fully contradicted our army is said to be 8000 this side Muvadabad. We daily expect to hear something of consequence.

August 11th. — Nothing remarkable to-day.

August 12th. — This morning I had a line from the British, they seem to be mostly below, and are saying that Mr Anjutt had with him some men from the British afterwards they were sent to the British and then they were here. The British are engaged along with us; they

August 13th. — The Nubob left Monrovia, and the fort was left in charge of Mohammed Cawn. He treated us with the greatest lenity in appearance, and pretended to carry on a treaty with Mr Ellis, but it was all a sham, for he never was in earnest. I was allowed to see the gentlemen on account of Captain Turner's being ill, who afterwards died of a flux.

August 27th—The former news still prevails, which gives us great reason to think that it is true we shall soon be cut off from Orissa. It is a fearful blow to the Government, which receives the former news.

August 28th—We have nothing new to-day, but additional circumstances of the former battle. Our army is bringing in six bottles of wine was stopped by the fellow at the gate, and was not allowed to bring it in, and in future we can't have any more without a fresh order from our new Governor.

August 29th—No account of our army's advancing. We learn the Mahab has got to Bangalore, and only expect to hear something decisive. Our old friend has received a strong report that Rammur and Poyah are both cut off, we hope it will prove without any delay.

August 30th—The news of the two former being captured is with the additional circumstance, that the British and French nations are all like wise three days late, which makes us apprehend that there is some truth in it, and that they have been sent in some consequence.

Thursday September 14.—To-day, heard some accounts of our fighting a complete victory at Sooty Halla, but not confirmed. The evening all the Armenian women set out to the westward.

Friday September 15.—Nothing extraordinary

Saturday September 16.—Heard to-day by a messenger from our camp at Sooty to a black merchant, that the arms remain there in the old positions; that Major Adams had for certain gone the Nicotown road with a view to pass the hills; that yesterday an account of it had been sent here for them to keep a look out, and which many prepared for going off. The Scotch houses here with houses were secured and these lakhs of reports, and Roy was the Begum has arrived at Bangalore. He has set word to Ram and family that he is not put to death, but in a secure place at Mongher and in iron with Rajullah.

Sunday September 17.—Nothing extraordinary

Monday September 18.—A report of our having pointed out the day.

Tuesday September 19.—Heard to-day of some ships being arrived at Calcutta with weapons and Europeans. Two Ali Cawn is returned to Bangalore, and Major Ali Cawn got command of the army below Coonda Cawn is settled in the hills and can't pass. To get and to be in the greatest confusion at His Excellency's quarters. Thus by letter

Wednesday September 20.—By a messenger from Miranabad in some days, have the account of an action confirmed as follows: The enemy made an attack on our fusile battery at night. Our people quitted it and having let about 4,000 men pass (for they crossed the mulla in boats), then immediately surrounded them and cut them off.

Thursday September 21.—Nothing extraordinary.

Friday September 22.—Saw a chit from Mr Ellis to his wife, dated 17th, wherein he tells he should want to be soon on his business at Patna,

Eni et n

brother Pitt—Mr Pitts and the rest of the
 company were sent from Monrovia, Mexico
 at 10 o'clock were in *Eni et n*
 at 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

afterwards, the soldiers were put to flight through the hills, that all the parties are abandoned.

Friday September 18th—It is said that the Americans sent a serious offer and a flag and met near its effects here, also that the Jamadar (commander) of Mongheer had refused admission to the British force, and that our troops were to be at the place as soon as possible.

Friday September 18th—We have not these many days had any allowance from the Nabob on account of the confusion here, the consequence of the late defeat of His Excellency's troops. Heard by a person of the village of Wiliam that Captain Turner died the night before—left Mongheer. To-day we decided what each regiment in our possession should aim to do. Reports have been sent that the greatest part of the efforts of our troops were with us to the Dutch factory. This precaution we have taken lest we be ordered to march up-country with His Excellency.

Saturday September 19th—Received adieux of our army for rent a beautiful Shawbad, 3 miles above the upper pass, that His Excellency is destroying Mongheer and they are here destroying our factory house and fortifying the place.

Sunday September 20th—His Excellency's people were gathered in troops. Mirza Caid and his body of 1000 men are both arrived here, having fled from the late action. Our gentlemen are in their way from Mongheer to the place and it is thought His Excellency intends pushing through the hills to Bengal in order to draw our troops down, for long time ago passed some assistance which he may be in expectation of from above. To-day sent my superfluous clothes to the Dutch factory. We also received a few days allowance out of eleven days' pay to us. Our people here seem a great agitation and, in short, the whole city seems ready to be winging. His Excellency is carrying the soldiers of Mongheer and our troops retreat from there.

For J. N. S. M. 27/10—This morn'g bear that
 Lally hope has arrived at the that b. victory. A
 rumour pre-aid of H. E. c. l. l. e. y. h. v. ing been
 comp. v. l. y. d. i. e. d. a f. w. d. y. s. go and lost every
 gun, etc., and that he is now on his way to Pal a.
 The very peons are n g. cat. ag. tation on the
 account.

Monday September 28/10—Heard from good
 authority that H. E. c. l. l. e. y. is retire t. f. y. and
 was t. w. d. y. s. ago at Saldaia Somero, and the
 Army a. v. e. n. b. a. p. a. r. t. y. at M. o. n. g. b. e. r. and our
 army at M. a. g. i. p. o. r. e. Also a party had. r. o. s. e. d.
 the m. e. y. a. d. a. r. e. com. g. p. o. n. the o. l. t. e. s. d.
 B. o. o. V. i. l. l. y. C. a. v. a. with S. this, a. d. a. e. c. a. l. o. t. o. t. h. e. r.
 p. e. r. s. o. n. s. w. e. r. e. at H. r. Many p. e. o. n. s. have been
 released, amongst the rest Sh. i. k. M. a. h. o. m. e. d. was
 released, from this place and put under the
 care of a f. e. n. d. of h. i. s. I. f. s. E. x. c. e. l. l. e. n. c. y. s. army
 and goes out here to-morrow morn'g.

Tuesday September 29/10—Heard that H. E. c. l. l. e. y.
 l. e. n. c. y. s. a. r. r. i. v. e. s. t. o. d. e. of R. a. l. l. a. and Somero
 with the Armen was at the V. u. l. t. a. that his people
 are going off d. a. y. s. and he is in great fear of h. s.
 l. i. f. e. That about three weeks ago, he proposed
 c. a. n. t. i. g. u. s. t. o. f. f. but was pre. e. n. t. e. d. by Somero,
 the A. m. e. n. s. and some of h. s. f. e. n. d. s. The
 M. o. n. t. a. r. with a good force will be at M. a. d. e. p. o. r. e.
 in three days, that H. E. x. c. e. l. l. e. n. c. y. is a. t. t. a. c. k. i. n. g. o. f. f.
 f. o. r. the h. i. s. t. R. a. m. m. a. s. e. r. a. w. t. h. i. n. 8. c. o. r. s. of t. h. i. s.
 place. It is b. e. l. i. e. v. e. d. t. h. t. h. s. o. r. d. e. r. s. w. o. u. l. d. n. o. t.
 be o. b. e. y. e. d. h. e. r. e, as most of the city seem w. i. l. l. i. n. g.
 to p. r. o. t. e. c. t. u. s. C. a. v. a. C. a. v. a. had 15 horses, which
 a. r. m. e. d. h. e. r. e. y. e. s. t. e. r. d. y. but the g. a. i. s. w. e. r. e. t. h. a. t.
 and they were not permitted to enter. As things
 grow t. o. r. a. d. i. c. r. i. s. i. s, our s. t. u. n. t. o. s. m. u. s. t. c. r. e. a. t. e.
 much a. n. s. i. e. t. y. It is s. a. d. h. e. w. i. l. l. be at R. a. m-
 m. e. r. a. the day after to-morrow so that our f. a. i. t. e.
 p. r. o. c. e. d. u. r. e. d. e. t. e. r. m. i. n. e. d. in two or three days at the
 furthest.

Wednesday October 1/10—Mahomet Emy Cava with
 the Scabs a. d. some other prisoners at H. r. e. m. a.
 w. t. h. o. u. t. the east gate. 12 Europeans a. l. s. o. c. a. m. e.
 w. h. o. h. a. v. e. a. r. r. i. v. e. d. in the city to-day.

So 17 October 1842—Heard that H. E. x. c. e. l. l. e. n. c. y.
 w. o. u. l. d. be at B. u. r. to-d. y. and our troops at

[illegible][illegible]

Aditya said breath of treaty but he said he at all had hopes of an accommodation he asked me but I thought off I told him I made no doubt of it. When some of his people then passed mentioned the affairs of Mr. Anayati's death, he declared that he had never given any orders for killing Mr. Anayati, but after receiving the advice of Mr. Eili's having attacked Patna he had ordered all his servants to take and imprison all the English in the provinces wherever they could find them; he likewise added that if a treaty was not set about he would bring the King, the Maratta, and Abdulla against me, and so ruin my trade, &c. He had finished his letters and ordered boats and a guard to conduct me, when upon the advice of some of his people, he stopped me and said there was no occasion for me to go. After sending for me at first, he ordered the sepoy, in whose charge I was, to go to the quarters of two Moguls and to accompany them to attend me, but I let me go about the city where I pleased. I then applied for to have liberty to stay at the Dutch Factory which was granted. I applied to Mr. and Mrs. Caven for his interest on behalf of the gentlemen the Chaulukian who, where seven in number and was not killed till the 11th of October but when he was pettified about them, he gave no answer, but sent orders to Sumre to cut them off. I likewise applied to Ally Ibrahim Caven to intercede for them but he gave no answer either though I was present when Ibrahim Caven petitioned for them.

October 14th.—On the approach of our army Causim Ally decamped with his troops a great confusion and marched as far as Phulwar, five days to the westward of the city. The Akbari that were with me having no orders about me I gave them some money which made them pretty easy.

October 15th.—After giving money to a Jamar that had the guard to the westward of the Dutch Factory by the river side, I set out in a small pinner and got into the boats under command of Captain Wedderburn, that were lying opposite to the city on the other side of the river and at 11 o'clock that night arrived at the army under the command of Major Adams, laying at Jany

[illegible]

Of which we are notified in the 11th page

purpose but it was too late for the enemy, perceiving the confusion, rushed upon them with the swords and pikes and having dispatched a few put the rest to flight.

Douglas as one of the first that fell but the late of Captain Edwards was not known his hat was found in the Nila before-mentioned but the body has never been discovered.

The Native Commandant and Adjutant were tried for their second act in that unfortunate action and were executed at the mouth of a cannon but the galla behaviour of one of the jemadars deserves much praise for having rallied a stern men he made his retreat good although attacked on every side by the Senas which he was promoted to the rank of Subadar.

Th was the third detachment which had been cut off by those of the plotters, one commanded by a Captain Thomas, the other by Lieutenant Keith who both lost their lives upon the occasion. As these parties were all from the Purgunah battalion, it occasioned the dissolution of that establishment.

Serjeant Speedy from whom the writer had the account of Captain Carstairs detachment, was a steady soldier and a man of long service in the field. He was a native of Ireland and in the beginning of what is called the Sepoy or first years war enlisted in the 3rd and regiment of foot then commanded by Colonel Fluke. He accompanied his regiment to Mysore in the year 1742, and remained with it the whole war was over at the battles of Dettingen Fontenoy and Lafeldt in the latter of which he lost two fingers of his left hand. The following year being 1748 he received his discharge and immediately after enlisted in the Honourable East India Company's service. He arrived at Madras 1749, and being posted to the grenadier company was ordered to take the field under Major Lawrence where he served the whole of the war against the French in which many gallant actions were performed by the company he belonged to. In 1750 his Company composed part of the detachment sent to Bengal, and after Major K'patrick. Adhere the writer begs leave to observe that the Company above mentioned was the foundation of the grenadier company of the only European regiment belonging to our Honorable employers now in Bengal, and it affords him the

serjeant. After his escape from Purnea he was put into the grenadiers, with which he served the whole of the army proceeded to Myngher, where in the year 1766, the general's greatest took place. In this situation of things, Sir Robert Fletcher who commanded the brigade sent to Mysore and off red him a commission but he nobly refused to declare that which was the case (other than the service which was imposed upon him). He was however the next year appointed Quartermaster to the third battalion sent to the coast under Lieutenant Colonel William Smith, and on the return of that detachment the year 1770, procured an appointment as a commission and died captain in February 1788.

Douglas was a brave soldier and was long in the service of the Honourable Company in Bengal. On his going to the army at Uda Nulla, he was placed in the European Battalion, which he served until the year 1766, when he was appointed serjeant major to one of the Purgunah battalions, then formed for the Revenue duty at MORADABAD.

Here he remained until the beginning of the year 1772, when the Senas became very troublesome in the district of Rangoon. Captain Timothy Edwards, who then commanded the battalion, was ordered to go with five companies, to clear the province of those marauders. Having received his instructions from the Chief of Rangoon he marched in quest of them and the morning after having crossed one of those small rivers with which the northern districts abound, he described the Senas about two miles in front of him. He immediately formed his detachment into a column by subalterns from the right, and marched on towards the enemy who, as soon as he came near enough saluted him with a few rockets. When Captain Edwards thought himself within a proper distance for engaging he rode to the head of the column, and beat it arms, intending that the divisions should double upon the left of the leading division as they came up but the men mistaking the orders, wheeled to the left, and formed a battalion which laid their right flank open to the enemy. Seeing the error they drew them into line in front of the Senas, which Douglas exerted himself on the right for the same

time they got there, the rage of Cassim Ally might be counted, and that they might probably escape death. They were accordingly embarked on a Pattala boat, in the charge of a jemadar, and were ordered to land and dropped down a small stream called the old or Fide Conny which falls into the Ganges a little below Birwarpore Gads and nearly opposite to Suckra Cully.

Here the serjeant had determined to have a boat for the first. As soon as the boat had reached the Ganges, and hoisted sail for it was being the height of the rains, two of them went up on the chopper or road, and saw the jemadar and three or four of his men asleep, with their faces covered. That they thought a favourable opportunity. They silently seized two of the serjants which were carried down them from the scabbard and having at the same time secured the matchlocks, one of them ran up to the manjree (helmet) seized him by the arm and threw him overboard they then gave a hurra, which was the signal for the two below who, in the meantime were not idle. The noise which those upon deck who seeing the serjants with drawn swords, fell upon their knees and begged the lives, which were granted, provided no further resistance was made. The jemadars instantly called to his men below to surrender which they did so that the serjants were in possession of the boat in less than ten minutes (on their first gun upon deck. The manjree having caught hold of the rudder entreated to be taken on board, and promised that he would conduct them down the river. His request was complied with, and the moment he was placed in his former situation, the sails were hauled down, the boat put about, and the crew taking the oars, the gallant fellows had the good fortune, by so set to meet the British army under Mr. Adams, then advanced to Uda Nulla.

At all these deceiving men have long since paid the debt of nature, the writer entreats he may receive a giving a short account of them. Their names were DAVIS, DOUGLAS, SPEER and another whose name he cannot now recollect. Davis was a smart young man, and a native of Devonshire. He relieved in the Company's service in the year 1761 and was posted to Captain Simons's company one of those left at Patna, in which he was soon made a

